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“SERBIAN” CULTURAL EVENTS IN BUDA AND PEST  
BETWEEN 1860 AND 1867

Master's Thesis

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Hereby I declare that I worked out this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature, and I did not present it to obtain another academic degree.

Prague, 9<sup>th</sup> of June, 2015

  
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## Abstracts

### „Srbské“ kulturní dění v Budíně a Pešti mezi roky 1860 a 1867

#### Abstrakt

*Klíčová slova: nacionalismus, srbská historie, Habsburská monarchie, Budín a Pešť, zájmová společenství v městské kultuře*

Dvojměstí Budín a Pešť nacházející se v srdci Habsburky spravovaného Uherského království sehrálo důležitou roli jako centrum moderního maďarského a slovanského národního obrození – a to i v první polovině 19. století. Vznikající kruhy slovenské, srbské a chorvatské inteligence využívají veřejné a poloveřejné městské prostory a instituce společenského života. Pešť a Budín je možno dokonce nazývat „slovanskými městy“<sup>1</sup> vzhledem k jejich důležitosti v tomto raném stádiu určování národní identity (a nejen kvůli jejich etnickému složení). Tyto městské prostory hrály specifickou roli i v rámci srbského národního obrození. Byly zde zakládány různé instituce, které sloužily jako model pro obrozenecké snahy ostatních národů. Během daného období v těchto městech probíhá živá výměna idejí mezi Srby a Maďary; éru charakterizují vícejazyčnost a dokonce překrývající se identity. Při popisu komplexnosti kulturních interakcí v městském prostoru se ve své práci opírám o dílo o městských kulturních kruzích ve Vídni od Moritze Csákyho.<sup>2</sup> Budín a Pešť tedy můžeme považovat za určující prostory srbského (a nejen srbského) národního obrození.

Práce se nejvíce soustřeďuje na vývoj vztahů po dramatických událostech let 1848-1849, jmenovitě na revoluci a na srbsko-maďarský ozbrojený konflikt. Je vůbec po politicky-sociálním útlaku neo-absolutistické éry možno hovořit o vyrovnání nebo dokonce o novém zlatém věku srbsko-maďarském tak, jak deklarují někteří historikové? Jaké změny se z pohledu základních motivů srbského národního obrození udály od období před událostmi roku 1848 (*Vormärz*)? Co se odehrálo v „srbských“ městských kruzích, když se v městském prostoru změnily sociální i materiální podmínky?

S cílem přispět k osvětlení těchto hlavních otázek se soustředím na události v Budíně a

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<sup>1</sup> Maxwell, Alexander 2005. „Budapest and Thessaloniki as Slavic Cities (1800-1914): Urban Infrastructures, National Organizations and Ethnic Territories.” In *Ethnologia Balkanica* 09/2005: 43-64

<sup>2</sup> Csáky, Moritz 2010. *Das Gedächtnis der Städte: kulturelle Verflechtungen: Wien und die urbanen Milieus in Zentraleuropa* [Wien-Stuttgart: Böhlau Verlag. *The Memory of the Cities. Cultural Overlappings: Vienna and the Urban Milieus in Central Europe*]

Pešti, které byly buď organizovány srbskou komunitou, nebo byly zvláště důležité pro Srby. Časový záběr práce je od prvních pokusů o zavedení konstituce v roce 1860 po rakousko-uherské vyrovnání v roce 1867. Tato práce rozlišuje dvě případové studie. První se týká představení díla v maďarštině o srbském despotovi Georgovi Brankovičovi v Maďarském národním divadle mezi roky 1856-1866. Později se toto drama stalo symbolem srbsko-maďarských dobrých vztahů, a tím může být chápáno v širším kontextu. Druhá případová studie se zabývá čtyřmi „*besedami*“ – ucelenými kulturními manifestacemi, které uváděly různé tance, písně a krátké přednášky, a po „prvotní“ části vybízely k účasti při tancích a písničkách.

Tato práce definuje *Bildungsbürgertum* a *Srbskou univerzitní omladinu*, které mohou být považovány za hlavní či částečné představitele srbských kulturních událostí jako dvě částečně se překrývající sociální skupiny v rámci srbského městského kulturního dění v Budíně-Pešti. Obě skupiny měly v úmyslu prezentovat samy sebe a vyjádřit národní identitu v rámci městského prostoru a v rozšířených sítích diaspory. Městská zástavba a diaspory tedy představují dvě úrovně analýzy.

**Translated by Katalin Kiss-Szemán and Oldřiška Prokopová**

## **“Serbian” Cultural Events in Buda and Pest between 1860 and 1867**

### **Abstract**

*Key terms:* nationalism, Serbian history, Habsburg Empire, Buda and Pest, urban cultural milieus

Situated at the very heart of the Habsburg-ruled Hungarian Kingdom, the twin cities of Buda and Pest played an important role as centres of modern Hungarian (Magyar) and Slavic national movements as well in the first half of the nineteenth century. Public and semi-public urban spaces and public institutions were used by members of the emerging Slovak, Serbian, Croatian national intelligentsias. Considering their importance in this earlier stage of nation building (and *not* primarily because of their overall ethnic composition) it is even possible to call Buda and Pest as „Slavic cities”.<sup>3</sup> These urban spaces had a specific role in the case of the Serbian national movement. In these cities institutions were founded which served as patterns for other national movements as well. During this period of time a vivid exchange of ideas between Hungarians and Serbs can be observed in the cities; multilingualism and even multiple identities were characteristic for the era. To describe complex cultural interrelations in the urban space the thesis will use the notion of urban cultural milieus introduced by Moritz Csáky for the case of Vienna.<sup>4</sup> To sum up Buda and Pest can be seen as essential spaces of Serbian and other nation building(s).

The main focus of the work is the development of relations after the dramatic events of 1848-1849; namely the revolutions and Serbian-Hungarian armed conflict. Is it possible to speak after the political-social context of equally oppressing neo-absolutist era about reconciliation or even about a new Serbian-Hungarian golden age as some historians are claiming? What changes had happened since the pre-1848 *Vormärz* period regarding the basic characteristics of the Serbian national movement? What happened to the „Serbian” urban milieu, as the social and even material preconditions of the urban space changed?

In order to contribute to these major questions I intend to focus on performances in Buda

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<sup>3</sup> Maxwell, Alexander 2005. “Budapest and Thessaloniki as Slavic Cities (1800-1914): Urban Infrastructures, National Organizations and Ethnic Territories.” In *Ethnologia Balkanica* 09/2005: 43-64

<sup>4</sup> Csáky, Moritz 2010. *Das Gedächtnis der Städte: kulturelle Verflechtungen: Wien und die urbanen Milieus in Zentraleuropa* [Wien-Stuttgart: Böhlau Verlag. *[The Memory of the Cities. Cultural Overlappings: Vienna and the Urban Milieus in Central Europe]*

and Pest being either organised by the Serbian community or having a specific importance for Serbs. The time scale is drawn between the year of the first constitutional attempts 1860 and the Austro-Hungarian compromise in 1867. The thesis attempts to distinguish two case studies. The first topic is related to the perception of a piece of theatre performed in the Hungarian National Theatre in Hungarian about the Serbian despot George Brankovich between 1856 and 1866. Later on, the drama became a symbol of Serbian-Hungarian good relationships and can be seen as part of a broader discourse on it. The second case study analyses four “*besedas*”, ball-like cultural manifestations presenting a variety of dances, songs, poems; short lectures and after the “frontal” part inviting guests to join the dances and songs.

The thesis defines *Bildungsbürgertum* and *Serbian University Youth* in the very context of “Serbian” events; as two partially overlapping social groups within the Serbian urban cultural milieu in Buda-Pest, which can be regarded as main or minor actors of the above mentioned events. Both groups intended to represent themselves and express national identity both in the urban space and the wide-spread diaspora networks. So the levels of the urban space and the diasporas constitute two scales of the analysis.

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## Introduction

Serbs and Hungarians have a past rich in common cultural, political and social contacts and experiences. The histories of the two communities have many times been overlapping during the centuries since late medieval contacts until today. In several cases Serbian historiography has set a special focus on topics related to Hungary or the Hungarian Kingdom. among them we can highlight the “*Velika seoba*” (“Big Migration”; movement of Serbian population from the Balkans peninsula to the Hungarian Kingdom) or the bloody conflicts during the Second World War (mass killings of the Hungarian Army and Gendarmerie in the occupied Bačka and Novi Sad in 1942 and bloody revenge of communist partisans two years later) – and last but not least we can also mention the era of the Serbian "national awakening" (*narodni preporod*), a modern nation building happening in the Hungarian Kingdom, mostly in the twin cities on the two banks of the Danube; Buda and Pest. This particular urban environment was catalysing and shaping not only the Hungarian (Magyar) national movement, but others as well. Nationalising elites coming from all over the multi-ethnic Hungarian Kingdom and the whole of the Habsburg Empire (and beyond its borders) were taking advantage of the available infrastructure - university, printing and publishing opportunities and other cultural institutions. This urban environment was inspiring cultural cooperation and tempering (or hiding) national conflicts. Therefore, as historian Alexander Maxwell formulates in his article it is even possible to call Buda and Pest "Slavic cities" because of their cultural importance and community resources.<sup>5</sup>

Although a remarkable Serbian minority community lived in both Buda and Pest in the medieval period, then during the Ottoman occupation and after *Velika seoba*, the cultural importance of these cities in the first half of 19th century went far beyond their demographic significance. Buda and Pest were the places, where important institutions of the Serbian national movement were founded. The influential literature and arts magazine *Serbskij Letopis* (still being published) was established here in 1824. The scientific and literary institution Matica srpska ("Serbian Mother or Mother bee") was founded two years later; and within a period of few decades it gained further importance and functioned as an Academy of Sciences and Arts serving as a pattern for many other "Maticas" of the Empire (*Matica Slovenská, Matice Česká, Matice Moravská, Matica Ilirska* etc.)<sup>6</sup>. Young Serbians from all around the Empire came to Buda-Pest and interacted with each other and

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<sup>5</sup> Maxwell 2005.

<sup>6</sup> See for instance: Herrity, Peter. 1973. "The Role of the Matica and Similar Societies in the Development of the Slavonic Literary Languages." *The Slavonic and East European Review*: 368-386.

students of other nationalities while wealthy merchants, lawyers and other members of the elite supported cultural activities in the city<sup>7</sup>.

When defining this cultural importance of a specific city in the early activities of a national movement, we can rely on the Czech historian, Miroslav Hroch, an important author of the discipline Nationalism Studies. Hroch offers a comprehensive description of national movements and their historical specificities. He describes certain patterns in the formation of modern nations, a process which starts with the formation of a "national movement" (in his broader description this notion is not identical with "nationalism") and ends with the birth of a "fully-formed" nation. The first step of this historical development, "phase A" of the formation is characterised by scholarly activities, attempts for better understanding common specificities of a group<sup>8</sup>; classification of the language, standardisation of the vernacular, collecting the elements of folklore including myths, songs and ancient religious beliefs. These academic activities contribute to the creation of the self-image of the nation. Given its relatively narrow social scale and the focus on scholarly activities it is useful to relate this first step of nation-building to the scenario in the 19th century Serb milieu in Buda-Pest. However, the unfolding of the modern nation according to Hroch goes further; it means the involving of new, more political generations and thus the widening of modern national identity to encompass all social groups. Thus national consciousness becomes "universal" and it overcomes its status- or class-basedness.<sup>9</sup>

Regarding Hroch's model it is interesting to look at the further development of the Serbian national movement. The national revolutions in 1848 and 1849 can be seen as a rupture in the Serbian-Hungarian relations. After the shared Hungarian revolutionary experience and Serbian solidarity demonstrations on the 15-17th of March 1848<sup>10</sup>, the different concepts of state and society (some important ideas were already formulated in the 1790's) were rapidly unfolding and leading to conflict. After the Hungarian revolutionary national government rejected the claims of the Serbian youth (asking for political autonomy inside the Hungarian Kingdom), the territorial focus of the movement shifted to the South, to the Serbian-majority areas around Novi Sad and Sremci Karlovci. The situation escalated quickly, the conservative course (lead by Patriarch Rajačić) and the liberal wing

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<sup>7</sup> Maxwell 2005, 45.

<sup>8</sup> Hroch, Miroslav 1993, "From National Movement to Fully-formed Nation." In: *New Left Review* 1/198, March-April 1993: 6-7.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>10</sup> Kovaček, Božidar 1998. "Az első pesti mozgalmak 1848 márciusában." In *Magyar Napló* 1998/6. sz.: 38-39. ["First Movements in Pest in March 1848."]

(headed by Đorđe Stratimirović) of the Serbian national movement together proclaimed the Serbian *Voivodina* (*Woiwodschaft*, *Vajdaság* etc.), an autonomous part of the Habsburg Empire. Extensive and bloody battle between Hungarian and Serbian troops and their allies (on the Serbian side: Austrian regular troops and voluntaries from the Serbian Principality) started soon and lasted until the end of the wars in 1849. Then, the court in Vienna proclaimed a territorial unit called “Voivodship of Serbia and Banat of Temeschwar”, a crown province. The name Voivodina is related to the claim of the Serbian movement to expand existing ecclesiastic rights (granted by the Austrian emperors since the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century) to a political and territorial autonomy inside or outside the institutions of the Hungarian Kingdom. However, the newly established entity did not fulfil the expectations of the Serbian elite; it can be seen more as a part of the neo-absolutist system than a real autonomy. The title of the *Great Voivod* had always been held by the current Austrian Emperor, the governor (mostly not a Serb) was appointed by him in Vienna. The Voivodship of Serbia and Banat of Temeschwar ceased to exist in 1860, in the year of the first constitutional attempts by Emperor Francis Joseph. In summary, in the dramatic years of 1848-1849 already existing differences between the Serbian and Hungarian national movements became suddenly apparent and they led to in bloody armed conflicts. Although the cities of Buda and Pest were not part of this particular Serbian-Hungarian civil war, these developments made cultural cooperation between urban elites temporarily impossible.

This research focuses on the period between 1860 and 1867, two crucial dates in the history of the Kingdom with the first marking the year of the first constitutional attempt (the so-called October Diploma) by emperor Francis Joseph after eleven years of neo-absolutism and the second the historical compromise between the Hungarian political elite and the court in Vienna, creating the dualist Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. During this new regulations concerning the political life and the press were implemented, particular groups were gradually granted the possibility to show their identity both locally and at the national level. It was also the era when different political forces represented at the Hungarian state diet and the Habsburg dynasty were engaged in negotiations on the future political and institutional foundations of the state. These deliberations took place on the national level and on the level of communities as well (see the assembly of Serbian politicians and the higher Orthodox priesthood in 1861 in the town Sremski Karlovci known as Blagoveštenski sabor – Annunciation assembly).<sup>11</sup> However, this debate took place not only between the ruling dynasty

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<sup>11</sup> See for instance: Mikavica, Dejan S. 2011. “Благовештенски сабор и Милетићева политика.” *Godišnjak Filozofskog Fakulteta, Novi Sad* 36 (2): 51–58. [“The Annunciation Council and Miletic’s Politics in 1861.”] Pajkossy, Gábor 2003. *Magyarország története-Szöveggyűjtemény*. Budapest: Osiris: 414.

and the Hungarian national elite. The relations between Magyars constituting the plurality in the Hungarian Kingdom and other national groups emerged again as well. The thesis intends to contribute to finding answers to the question how Serbian-Hungarian relations were developing under these circumstances.

In the very focus of this present work are selected “Serbian” cultural manifestations appearing in the multinational urban space of Buda and Pest. The quotation marks in the title are meant to reflect to the difficulty of the definition of a Serbian event in the city. In this work I will use the widest approach possible, according to which I will analyse cultural events, which were manifestations either organised by members of the Serbian community of Buda-Pest or by external actors having a specific Serbian context and thus resonating with Serbian identity. This way of defining the subject helps me to reflect on the blurred boundaries of “Serbian” urban culture. I would like to discover different aspects of selected events in order to reflect to the dynamics of the Serbian national movement in these eight years – specifically in light of the importance of the cities in the first half of the century. This question of the changing importance can be posed from the perspective of the cities as well; how did the changing and developing urban importance influence the Serbian national movement in Buda and Pest?

### *Overview of Literature on the Topic*

Obviously, research questions can be posed from different perspectives. These points of view imply the use of existing scholarly literature in the field. In this section I will provide a brief overview of secondary literature and thus justify my choice for the cases studied and the theoretical approach to them. At the very beginning of the research I was inspired by the classics of the research on national identities (Anderson<sup>12</sup>, Hroch<sup>13</sup>, Smith<sup>14</sup>, Gellner<sup>15</sup>) and tried to find possible links between the research fields of Nationalism Studies and Urban History. Since I knew that my research would be related to Budapest, I started to explore the long-lasting historiographic tradition on the history of the Hungarian capital mostly concentrating on the demographic, economic development of the city in general<sup>16</sup> and the efforts of the Hungarian elite to create a new, co-ordinate capital of the Austro-

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<sup>12</sup> Anderson, Benedict 2006. *Imagined communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. Revised Edition.* Verso.

<sup>13</sup> Hroch 1993.

<sup>14</sup> Smith, Anthony D. 1987. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations.* Oxford: Blackwell.

<sup>15</sup> Gellner, Ernest 1999. „The Coming of Nationalism and Its Interpretation. The Myths of Nation and Class.” In Boules, S-Franzini, M-Pagano, U: *Economics of Power.* London: Routledge.

<sup>16</sup> Bácskai, Vera-Gábor Gyáni-András Kubinyi 2000. *Budapest története a kezdetektől 1945-ig.* Budapest Főváros

There are some important and inspiring scholarly works, analysing specific ethnic or national groups, their activities and institutions in Buda and Pest, the environment which was shaping and at the same time shaped by these communities. Among the interesting examples on the topic we should mention Róbert Kiss-Szemán's book on the Slovak writer Jan Kollár, where he provides an analysis of the "Slavic" Pest.<sup>18</sup> Another important monography of Julia Richers relates to the "Jewish" Budapest presenting *cultural topographies* of its most important neighbourhoods with considerable Jewish population.<sup>19</sup> Moritz Csáky presents in his monography national urban cultural milieus in Vienna and other cities in the region (including Budapest). This work proved to be another important contribution to the theoretical framework and will be presented later in detail.<sup>20</sup> We have to mention some important secondary literature of the Serbian population and Serbian culture of Budapest and its predecessors as well. The most general work including all aspects of Serbian life in Buda and Pest is written by the historian Sztoján D. Vujicsics (Stojan Vujičić).<sup>21</sup> Although the book is rather aiming the broader public and using the form of popular historywriting, I shall mention this book, because that directed my interest to the various aspects of the Serbian past of Budapest years ago.

In Serbian historiography particular attention is paid to two locations; to the neighbourhood Tabán in Buda and to the town Szentendre, an important merchant town and ecclesiastic centre situated approximately 20 km north of Buda. The historiography of Serbs in Buda, Pest or later on Budapest is concentrating mainly on institutions or certain artistic currents such as Romanticism or the so-called "Youth Era". The institutions of particular interest include of course Matica srpska (here I have to mention the monumental historical monography of this institution) and the college Tekelijanum (the works of Kovaček and Visy<sup>22</sup>). Given my linguistic and academic background I intended however to choose a topic, which allows the reflection to the relations with different national communities and movements in Buda and Pest and thus reflect to the importance and functions of this urban space.

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Levéltára. [The History of Budapest from the Beginnings until 1945]

<sup>17</sup> Gyáni, Gábor 2008. Budapest – túl jön és rosszon. Budapest: Napvilág Kiadó. [Budapest – Beyond Good and Evil]

<sup>18</sup> Kiss-Szemán, Róbert 2011. *Szláv pokol Pesten*. Budapest: Balassi Kiadó. [Slavic Hell in Pest]

<sup>19</sup> Richers, Julia 2009. *Jüdisches Budapest. Kulturelle Topographien einer Stadtgemeinde im 19. Jahrhundert*. Wien: Böhlau. [Jewish Budapest. Cultural Topographies of a City Municipality in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century]

<sup>20</sup> Csáky 2010,

<sup>21</sup> Vujicsics, Sztoján 1997c. *Serbs in Pest -Buda*. Budapest: Főpolgármesteri Hivatal.

<sup>22</sup> Kovaček, Božidar 1997. *Tekelijanumske istorije XIX veka*. Novi Sad: Matica srpska. [19th-Century Histories of Tekelijanum]

Visy, Gábor. 1996. *A pesti Tökölyánium*. Budapest: JPTE TK Kiadói Irodája. [Tekelijanum in Pest]

Since my starting point is an approach based on notions of “nation”, “identity”, even Nora’s “*lieux de mémoire*”, rather than historical demography, urban geography, or ecclesiastic history I oriented towards Serbian cultural events and relations in Buda and Pest. Most books and articles are dealing with the first half of the century, the golden era of Serbian journalism, publications, the founding of institutions and cultural encounters. I, however, wanted to focus on a less researched but still interesting era before the Austro-Hungarian compromise. Among the contributions I would like to mention some of the works related to the academic fields of Nationalism Studies, Cultural Studies and Literary History. Zoltán Györe’s Ph.D. thesis provides an all-encompassing comparative analysis of the Serbian and Magyar national renaissance pointing out cultural and ideological encounters in Buda, Pest and elsewhere.<sup>23</sup> It is important to mention the work “*The History of Serbian Literature*” written by Péter Milosevits (Petar Milošević), who relates the development of the Serbian literature continuously to the diaspora experience (which, being a Serbian writer in Hungary is his experience as well) and cultural encounters and transactions.<sup>24</sup> Beside these works we I shall note authors making important contributions to the study of Serbian-Hungarian relations before and after 1849: Božidar Kovaček<sup>25</sup>, Zoltán Györe<sup>26</sup>, István Póth<sup>27</sup>, Stojan Vujičić<sup>28</sup>, István Fried<sup>29</sup>.

From several events of the chosen time period I decided to focus on two cases, to look for primary sources and analyse them from the above presented points of view. As the first subject, I selected Károly Obernyik’s drama on George Brankovich, a piece which for the Hungarian public known in its re-arranged form as an opera by Ferenc Erkel. Serbian historians are aware of the national importance of the drama as translated and modified by Jovan Đorđević, which was published relatively recently again in Serbian in the series “*Serbian Drama Tradition*”.<sup>30</sup> As the most important

<sup>23</sup> Györe, Zoltán 2009. *Mađarski i srpski narodni preporod..* Novi Sad: Vojvodanska akademija nauka i umetnosti. [Hungarian and Serbian National Revival.]

<sup>24</sup> Milosevits, Péter 1997: *A szerb irodalom története.* Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó [History of Serbian Literature]

<sup>25</sup> Kovaček, Božidar 1977. “Magyar témák a Matica srpska Letopisában.” In: *Létünk 1977/10.* 144-154. [“Hungarian Topics in Serbski Letopis.”]

<sup>26</sup> Györe, Zoltán 2007. “Karadorde among the Hungarians. Hungarian and Serb Theatre Collaboration in the Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century”. Juan Pan-Montejo – Pedersen Frederik: *Communities in European History: Representations, Jurisdictions, Conflicts.* Pisa University Press: 65-84.

<sup>27</sup> Póth István 1982. “A magyar-szerb együttműködés gyümölcsöző évei.” In *Hungarológiai Közlemények Újvidék/Novi Sad 1982/14/3:* 303-314. [“Fruitful Years of Hungarian-Serbian Cooperation”]

<sup>28</sup> Vujicsics, Sztoján. 1997a. “A Szerb Matica pesti évtizedei (1824-1864).” In *Magyarok És Szerbek - Tanulmányok,* 96–100. Újvidék: Forum. [Matica srpska’s Decades in Pest]

<sup>29</sup> Fried, István 1982. “Szerb-magyar művelődési kapcsolatok (1849-1867).” In *Hungarológiai Közlemények Újvidék/Novi Sad 1982/14/3:* 327-340. [„Serbo-Hungarian Cultural Contacts (1849-1867)”]

<sup>30</sup> Obernyik, Károly-Jovan Đorđević 2005. *Ђурађ Бранковић: Историјска драма у 5 чинова* Београд: Музеј Позоришне уметности Србије.

publication on the Serbian importance of the drama we can mention a lengthy essay from 2000, written by the director of the Matica srpska Library, Božidar Kovaček. The author presents the above mentioned theatre performances in the long process of the efforts to create a Serbian national of theatre culture. The main subject of the essay however are Serbian amateur performances in private houses in 1860 and 1861, of which he delivers an in-depth analysis.<sup>31</sup> Another article regarding the aftermath of the drama of Obernyik is written by István Póth.<sup>32</sup> Regarding these publications I have chosen to introduce the drama “George Brankovich”, reveal the contemporary discourse around the historical figure, show how he and the drama itself became a symbol, and at the end problematise the notion of a “Serbian” event in Buda and Pest in light of the dynamics of the Serbian public sphere of Buda-Pest.

Of the second series of events, cultural evenings called “besedas” I did not find a detailed analysis in the scholarly literature. However, here I have to mention Božidar Kovaček again, who gave a shorter description on them in his book on histories from the Tekelijanum.<sup>33</sup> István Fried mentioned in his article on Serbian-Hungarian cultural contacts the success of the 1864. beseda.<sup>34</sup> Using these publications as a starting point I conducted a research into four subsequent besedas and analysed them as events of self-representation, as maintaining the national identity and as events of political importance.

### *Primary Sources*

The above mentioned two series of events can be approached from various points of view, however, given that the starting questions are related to the study of national identity and culture, the following case studies consider the events as manifestations of *national identity* and *self-representation*. This focal point implies further problematizing of what is seen as “Serbian” in the urban space. And at the same time: what differentiates a Serbian event in Pest and Buda from manifestations of a national group in other towns or cities in the diaspora? I attempted to reflect on these questions while analysing

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<sup>31</sup> Kovaček, Božidar 2000. “Културна збивања међу Србима у Пешти и Будиму 1860-1861. и њихове позоришне представе I.”. Нови Сад: Матица Српска. In *Зборник Матице српске за сценске уметности и музику* 26/27

Kovaček, Božidar 2003. “Културна збивања међу Србима у Пешти и Будиму 1860-1861. и њихове позоришне представе I.”. In *Зборник Матице српске за сценске уметности и музику*. бр. 28/29, 2003: 29-91. [“Cultural Events Among Serbs in Pest and Buda in 1860-1861 and their Theatre Performances.”]

<sup>32</sup> Póth István 1958. “Obernyik-Egressy : Brankovics György c. tragédiája szerb színpadon.” *Filológiai közlöny*, 1958/I.: 133-138. [“The Tragedy „Brankovics György” Written by Obernyik and Egressy on the Serbian Scene.”]

<sup>33</sup> Kovaček 1997, 111-115.

<sup>34</sup> Fried 1982, 334.



the primary sources.

Since only few scholarly works available deal with these very events, the first step of dealing with the sources was the reconstruction of the basic characteristics of the events including the location, the time, the contributors and the guests. The next step was the analysis of the happenings from different perspectives. Therefore, I tried to include as many viewpoints as possible by using primary sources in Serbian, Hungarian, German, Croatian, Slovak etc. As the further chapters will show, sources of different languages or political-cultural affiliations often underlined different aspects of the analysed events or made comments on them. In the case of the drama *George Brankovich* for instance only certain press products underlined its specific importance from the point of view or related to its Serbian perception. On the other hand, besedas were shown as Serbian manifestations, however sometimes interpreted differently.

In course of the research I was mainly using primary sources to be found in two major national institutions; in various collections of the Hungarian National (*Széchenyi*) Library (OSZK) in Budapest and the Rarities Collection (*Čitaonica rariteta*) of the Library of Matica srpska (BMS) in Novi Sad, Serbia. Additionally, I could make use of rich digital collections of the latter institution<sup>35</sup> and the Serbian National Library (Belgrade)<sup>36</sup> as well. The research is mostly based on the analysis of press coverage of the selected events. The range of press products includes the first and most important Serbian scientific and artistic magazine *Serbskij Leopis* and other newspapers and magazines issued in Pest such as *Zmaj* and *Zastava*. I could resort to the Hungarian and non-Hungarian press landscape in Pest such as *Magyar Sajtó*, *Fővárosi Lapok*, *Pesti Napló*, having a mostly liberal orientation, which at that time meant a closer relation to particular national movements – thus giving publicity to Serbian events. It is important to include Serbian press products issued in different cities (such as Danica or Matica from Novi Sad) reporting from the celebrations. Among non-journalistic sources of the events we should mention theoretical and critical works on literature, some of the participators mémoires and official documents related to the events.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> *Digitalna Biblioteka Matice srpske* [<http://digital.bms.rs/>] Downloaded on 2015.05.28.

<sup>36</sup> *Digitalna Narodna biblioteka Srbije* [<http://digitalna.nb.rs/>] Downloaded on 2015.05.28.

<sup>37</sup> See detailed list of primary sources at the end of the thesis.

## Technical Notes

In the thesis and other findings of my research I consequently use the Latin transcription of the Serbian language (latinica) in the main text. This policy applies to all names, concepts and other Serbian words. The decision is of course questionable from the historical perspective; the overwhelming majority of the Serbs were using the Cyrillic alphabet (Ćirilica) in that period of time (with the exception of some segments of the Serbo-Croatian language movement – see for instance the 1850 Vienna language agreement<sup>38</sup>). However, like other researchers of the area I use the Latin transcription, more apparent in the 20th century, in order to not interrupt the narration of the text and make it easier to read. In the references however I use the original (in the overwhelming majority the Cyrillic) alphabet indeed, with the authors' names are shown in Latin to facilitate the consequent usage of the Latin alphabet.

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In my period of research "popular language" was already dominating the Serbian culture, replacing the older Slaveno-Serbian language. This old language Variant, which was heavily influenced by the liturgical Older Slavic and Russian, was mainly used in books and articles in the first part of the Serbian national movement. However, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić and others were arguing for a new cultural policy; to standardise the spoken language as a language of literature, sciences and arts. They succeeded in the 1840's; for instance, *Serbskij Letopis*, the most important Serbian magazine in the Hungarian Kingdom changed its language policy already in 1847.<sup>39</sup>

Another problematic point constitutes the two calendar systems used in the 1860's. Orthodox tradition newspapers and other documents in Serbian used the Julian calendar, while Hungarians and other national groups of Catholic or Protestant influence used the Gregorian system. In the thesis I use the Gregorian system, while sometimes indicating the date according to the Julian calendar as well (in the format *Julian/Gregorian*).<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Agreement about a common (Serbo-Croatian) language policy signed by prominent Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian scholars.

Okuka, Miloš 1998. *Eine Sprache, viele Erben – Sprachpolitik als Nationalisierungsinstrument in Exjugoslawien*. Klagenfurt: Wieser Verlag: 11-15. [*One Language, Multiple Heritages – Language Policy as an Instrument of Nationalisation in Ex-Yugoslavia*]

<sup>39</sup> Margalits, Ede 1918. *Szerb történeti repertórium – I. kötet*: 64. [<http://digitalia.tudaskozpont-pecs.hu/books/margalits-edeszerb-tortenelmi-repertorium-1-kotet-budapest-mta-1918/web/index.php?page=b001&wpid=3379>] Downloaded on 2015.6.6.

<sup>40</sup> In the thesis I use the calendar converter developed by "Fourmilab Switzerland". [<https://www.fourmilab.ch/documents/calendar/>] Downloaded on 2015.05.27.

The English notion “Hungarian” as used in this essay has two meanings. It can have the pre-modern meaning of an adjective relating to the Hungarian Kingdom Or other,the notion can relate to modern Hungarian national culture and identity as well. This duality of meanings can be confusing concerning differences between the multiethnic, multilanguage feudal Hungarian Kingdom and modern Hungary although from another perspective, there is a considerable continuity in legal, cultural terms. Some Slavic languages use two different words to distinguish the two meanings (see for instance the words Mađarska and Ugarska in Serbian). Because of the ambiguity I will try to indicate the context of the notions. Sometimes I use the word „Magyar” („Hungarian”) in the modern sense.

## 1. City and Diaspora; Scales of Analysis

As already stated in the Introduction, the main problem presented in this thesis is the changing role of Buda and Pest in the Serbian nation building. This main problematic evokes several minor questions on the organisational and institutional patterns as well as the contents and messages of the performances. What makes a Serbian beseda or a theatre piece in Buda-Pest “Serbian”? And on the other hand: how does a specific urban environment influence in the above mentioned performances? An important level of analysis is related to the very social environment in which performances took place. Therefore I will present Buda and Pest as a multinational and multi-ethnic environment and present the fruitful approach on urban milieus elaborated by Csáky (Subchapter 1.1). The last introducing subchapter (1.3) relates to the role of Buda and Pest in a Serbian diaspora underlining practices of *crossing borders* and *creating networks*.

### 1.1 Approaches to a Multiethnic City – Ethnic Neighbourhoods and Urban Cultural Milieus

„Az utcán por, bűz, német szó, piszok”<sup>41</sup>

„Dust, stink, German words and dirt in the streets”.

This quote from 1861 written by one of the most important Hungarian writers and poets of the era, János Arany is used quite often to describe a Hungarian intellectual’s viewpoint on the urban space of Pest in the early 1860’s.<sup>42</sup> The German language is seen here as an unhealthy, dirty thing in the street, as a sign and at the same time the cause of urban decadence, thereby reflecting on mostly German-speaking burghers but in general, on the rule of the Habsburgs as well. The wider context of this sentence by Arany can be explained with the feelings of the members of the Hungarian liberal national elite, which had lost the “freedom fight” (*szabadságharc*) but also “the city” as the centre of the Hungarian national movement, an urban space being developed to become a real urban centre of the Hungarian nation. In this thesis I use both singular and plural by referring on the urban space(s) constituting an important level of analysis. The designation Buda and Pest seems to be most appropriate from the legal point of view, since they used to be two separate municipalities. One cannot forget however that it is at this time that the word “Budapest” is born – appearing for the wider public in an essay (“Világ” – “World” or “Light”) written by the influential Hungarian aristocrat, politician

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<sup>41</sup> Arany, János 1861. *Vojtina ars poeticája*. [<http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/sulinet/igyjo/setup/portrek/arany/vojtina.htm>] Downloaded on 2015.6.9.

<sup>42</sup> See for instance Székely, György 1990. *Magyar Színháztörténet I. kötet*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 427. [*Hungarian Theatre History*]

and patron of national efforts, István Széchenyi.<sup>43</sup> It was Széchenyi as well who initiated and funded the construction of a permanent bridge, the most important material precondition of the future unification of Buda and Pest linking the two sides of the Danube and opened in 1849. The idea of uniting and making them the future of the old-new capital of the Hungarian Kingdom was prevailing in the Hungarian national movement. This point of view can justify the usage of the terms Pest-Buda or Buda-Pest as well. However, this thesis does not intend to present only the Magyar viewpoint on the cultural development in the urban space. At this point our trait of thought comes back to Maxwell's ambiguous notion applied to Salonika/Thessaloniki and Budapest, speaking of "national organisations, urban infrastructure and ethnic territories".<sup>44</sup> In this section I shall reflect briefly on the latter aspect. Is it possible to relate the notions of ethnic (i.e. Serbian) neighbourhoods<sup>45</sup> in the case of Buda and Pest in the 1860's to the analysed events?

In course of the above already mentioned forced migration of the "*Velika seoba*" Serbian families fleeing from the Ottoman Empire to the North were settling down along the Danube and in Southern Hungary, mostly in the Bačka, Banat and Syrmium regions. Buda and Pest were also among the destinations of the Serbs. Two areas on the two banks of the Danube where the Habsburg court settled down Serbian families coming from the South should be mentioned. The neighbourhood of Tabán (the contemporary *Raitzenstadt [Serb town]*) was situated outside the city wall, between *Blocksberg (Gellért-hegy)* and the Buda Castle. This area had at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century a large Serbian majority with approximately 1000 Serbian families<sup>46</sup>, which shaped the neighbourhood's face (for instance by building St. Demeter's church in 1751). In Pest the Serbian-inhabited area was to be found in the South inside the city walls, around the orthodox church of St. George (see figure 1.1 with the delimitation of the area with the overwhelming majority of Serbian houses).

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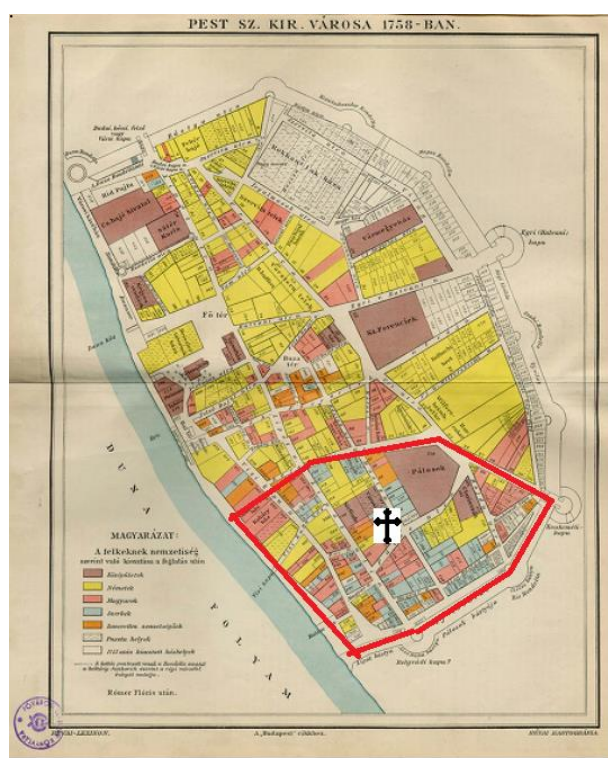
<sup>43</sup> "Fővárosotok nevét Budapestre kellene változtatni, amely kevés év, sőt hónap múlva olyan megszokottan s könnyen hangoznék, mint Bukarest, s így a két város egyesülne, amely most nem a legjobb szemmel nézi egymást."

In Széchenyi, István (1831) 2002: *Világ*. Budapest: Neumann Kht. [<http://mek.oszk.hu/11800/11842/11842.htm>]  
Downloaded on 2015.6.7.

<sup>44</sup> Maxwell 2005.

<sup>45</sup> A notion introduced by Robert E. Park, the most influential scholar of the so-called Chicago school as urban studies. This concept is widely seen as the most appropriate approach to the analysis of ethnic areas within the city. See: Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess (1925) 1967. *The City- Suggestions for Investigations of Human Behaviour in Urban Environment*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

<sup>46</sup> Kocsis Károly 1994. „Budapest és régiója etnikai térszerkezetének átalakulása (1850-1890).”. In *Földrajzi Értesítő* 1994/3-4: 301. [„The Transition of Ethnic Structure of Buda and Pest.”]



**Figure 1.1: Serbian-inhabited houses in Pest in 1758. N-S orientation.**

**Legende:** brown: public buildings, yellow: German, red: Hungarian, blue: Serbian. The St. George Orthodox church is shown as well.

Based on the map: Pest Sz. Kir városa 1758-ban [Budapest térképeinek katalógusa 824]  
<http://maps.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/3150/#?bbox=-2480.042103158208%2C-4507.289814587824%2C8447.957896841797%2C100.7101854121779>

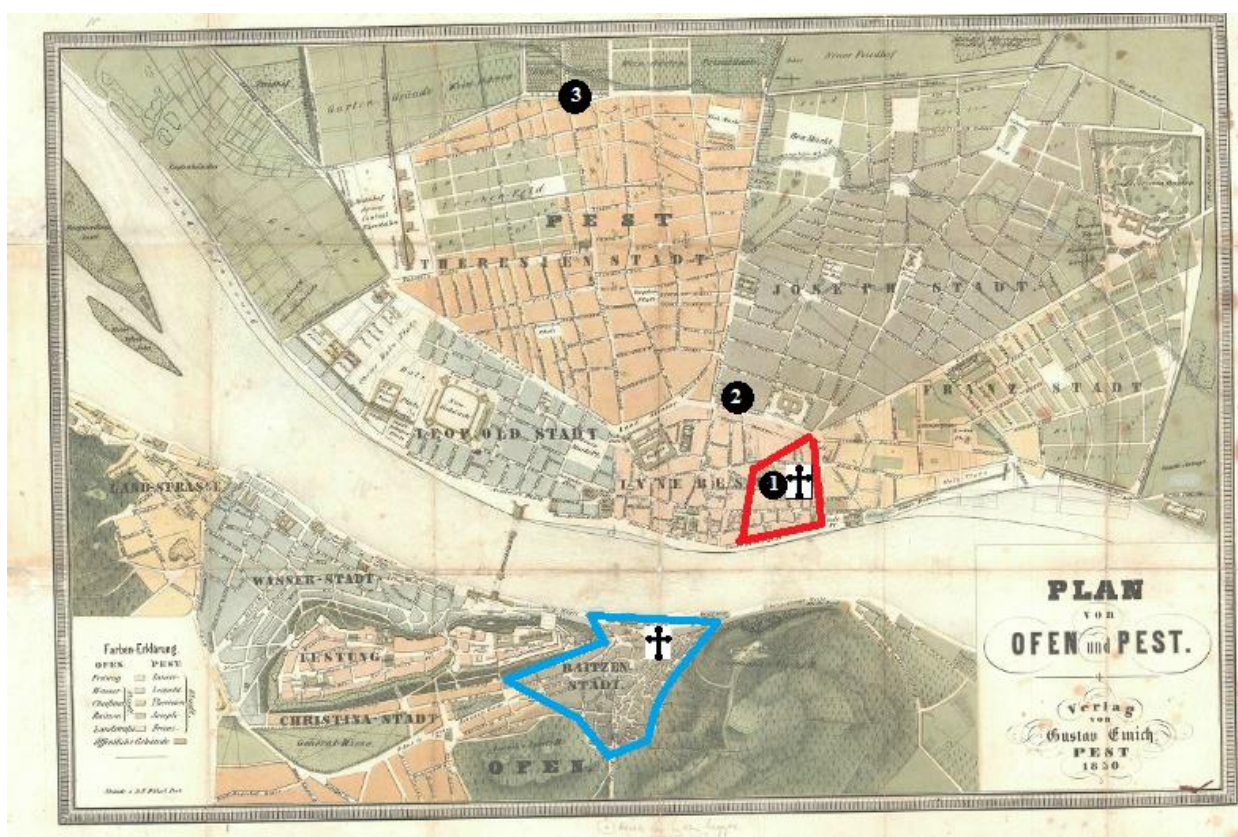
In course of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries the number of the Serbian population started to decline.<sup>47</sup> The reasons for this trend are multiple. It is interesting however that the emerging *Vormärz* of the Serbian national movement in the 1820's and 1830's was unfolding despite of ongoing demographic trends. In this era however, the most important locations, places of encounter and institutions can be related to the Serbian neighbourhoods situated in close vicinity of the Buda and Pest churches. The Serbian writer, Jakov Ignjatović mentions such places in his mémoires – such as the “Golden Deer” inn or the “Joseph” pub, next to the church in Pest, which were important places of encounter between Serbian, other Slavic and Hungarian intellectuals.<sup>48</sup> In the thesis however I provide an analysis of cultural manifestations, which were organised outside the above mentioned urban areas, in a largely expanded city (see Figure 1.2). However, there is one aspect to take into

<sup>47</sup> For instance according to the data of the first census including national categories in 1850, only 2205 Serbs were living in the cities, constituting only 1,4% of the city population  
 Kocsis 1994, 305.

<sup>48</sup> Ignjatović, Jakov. 1973. *Szerb Rapszódia*. Budapest: Európa: 11.



consideration. The events themselves were not organised at a specifically “Serbian” location, but if one takes a look at the institutional background of the organisers or Serbian actors, the role of the student’s college Tekelijanum being the most important centre of Serbian culture and (until 1864) of Matica srpska is obvious. The building of this institution, a venue for a number of organisational meetings and smaller celebrations, is situated close to the Serbian church of Pest (see Chapter 3.). As another example I can mention amateur theatre performances organised in houses of wealthy Serbian citizens in Buda. To sum up, although the concept of a Serbian neighbourhood is not in focus of my research, one should keep its former and actual importance in mind during the research.



**Figure 1.2: Buda and Pest in 1850 with locations of the events analysed. E-W orientation.**

Legende: 1) Tekelijanum, 2) Hungarian National Theatre (*George Brankovich*), 3) Pest Shooting Range (*besedas*). Blue delimitation: Tabán neighbourhood with St. Demeter Orthodox Church. Red delimitation: the area shown on the figure 1.1 with the St. George Orthodox church.

Based on the map: *Plan von Ofen und Pest*. Pest: Gustav Emich. 1850  
<http://maps.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/2464/?bbox=-653.6415756074812%2C-6575.338116503524%2C14800.884234005709%2C-58.64202108829886> Downloaded on 2015.6.8.

The “Serbian” events analysed therefore cannot be directly related to ethnic neighbourhoods. Therefore I should apply an approach, which is more closely related to the academic field of Cultural Studies but which, at the same time, is taking the characteristics of a multi-national city into consideration.

The Austrian-Hungarian literary historian, Moritz Csáky in his monography “Das Gedächtnis der Städte” (Memory of the Cities”) delivers an extensive description of the urban culture of Vienna.<sup>49</sup> In the capital of the same Habsburg Empire, the city at this time could be seen as a place of encounter between different national and ethnic cultures: Germans, Czechs, Hungarians, Croats, Slovenes etc. Csáky defines culture (Kultur) as a *space of communication* filled with ideas, discourses, political and cultural agendas.<sup>50</sup> Cities and capitals in Central-Eastern Europe are the places, where cultures encounter and interact. In the concrete case analysed by the author we can speak, according to different urban milieus of the city, about the historical phenomena of “Bohemian”, “Hungarian”, “Slovenian” or “Jewish” Viennas. The nature of these urban milieus can be different. Some phenomena have territorial extensions, however the definition i.e. of “Bohemian” Vienna cannot be limited to the description of “Czech” neighbourhood(s). There are more complex phenomena of *integration* and/or *segregation* within the fabric of the city whether definable on the spatial scale or not. Csáky introduces another important notion regarding urban milieus. “*Schnittstellen*” (interfaces or cut surfaces) are called the places of creative encounter and interaction between different milieus. In the case of Bohemian Vienna it is possible to speak about certain cafés (“Schnittstelle Kaffeehaus”)<sup>51</sup> or about the editorial office of the magazine “Die Welt” (“Schnittstelle Redaktion”) having an open and creative agenda.<sup>52</sup> However, sometimes it is really hard to differentiate between urban milieus as they usually appear in a form of a mixture. The author describes the cultural hybridity of Vienna as a *mélange* (referring at the same time to the typical Viennese coffee), which absorbs but at the same time keeps cultural differences by creating new forms of culture (for instance “creolising languages”)<sup>53</sup>. To sum up, Csáky in his monography gives a broader definition of urban milieus supported by numerous examples. It seems that there are many useful theoretical contributions for the case of “Serbian” Buda-Pest. In particular, the notion “cut surface” seems to be a useful tool and in the further part of the essay it will be applied to Serbian-Hungarian theatre cooperation and the analysis of besedas.

## 1.2 National Cultural Performances

Miroslav Hroch in his theoretical monography “*Das Europa der Nationen*” (“Europe of Nations”)

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<sup>49</sup> Moritz Csáky 2010 *Das Gedächtnis der Städte. Kulturelle Verflechtungen – Wien und die urbanen Milieus in Zentraleuropa*. Böhlau Verlag.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, 89.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, 149-153

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, 157-165.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, 236.



provides several important aspects for the analysis of “national celebrations”.<sup>54</sup> It is particularly useful to relate his ideas to the case studies delivered in this thesis and thus find some theoretical support for the further course of this essay. As Hroch highlights, a (national) celebration is always to be analysed as an interaction between actors and recipients.<sup>55</sup> It is important to underline this simple point in the case studies. The impact of the “Serbian” events was a result of a long and complex process of interaction between social groups and their respective identities in the making. Therefore it makes sense to take many national and social perspectives into consideration to show discourses around these events. In his definition of national festivities Hroch also points out the practice of organising modern, “secular” national events related to pre-modern religious celebrations.<sup>56</sup> In fact, Serbian *besedas* were, for instance, organised around religious festivities of St. Sava, an important saint of the Orthodox Church.

In summarising, an increasing number of studies on national festivities in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Miroslav Hroch mentions four important methodological points to take into consideration. (1) He stresses the importance of distinguishing between nation-states or state-nations and national movements.<sup>57</sup> And indeed, the main acting groups presented in this thesis can be defined under the term “Serbian national movement in Buda and Pest”. National movement is of course a notion related to groups of the urban elite, who at the same time want to extend their activities to wider segments of society and more distant regions, thus creating solidarity between social groups and various regions in the name of an *imagined community*. The recognition of this importance led me to give up the original, rather misleading and hard-to-define concept of “Serbian Buda-Pest”. I use the term “national movement” instead by highlighting two important groups within it. (2) Hroch points out the relatedness of most national celebrations to the national past, myths, heroes and other personalities. This usage of the past can often be related to the present situation, plans and efforts of a national community.<sup>58</sup> It is possible to see the same use of the past for instance in the case of George Brankovich, whose historical experience, according to the writers and interpreters of the story, proves to be valid even for contemporary audiences. The third point of the Czech historian relates to the fact that the realisation of these events always depended on the degree of political liberalisation in the

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<sup>54</sup> Hroch, Miroslav. 2005. “*Das Europa Der Nationen.*” *Die Moderne Nationsbildung Im Europäischen Vergleich.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht. 217-227. [The Europe of the Nations. Modern Nation Building in European Comparison.]

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, 217.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 218.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, 226

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

states (3).<sup>59</sup> Therefore it is not surprising that in Buda and Pest in course of the analysed era, Serbian manifestations were more and more *visible*. This happened in a period of softening Habsburg policies on press (censorship), social and political activities. In the period between 1860 and 1867 many preconditions for a political debate on the future of the country were created. That means at the same time that particular groups could become more and more visible in the public sphere of the city. This thesis does places no specific focus on political or legal history, however it should reflect to these basic changes as well. The last point of Hroch (4) approaches national festivities as events of wealthy or educated classes again by saying that participation on these events “(...) *required a certain wealth and political culture*”.<sup>60</sup> In accordance with this point I wish to reiterate that both Serbian performances analysed and the written reports on them were only accessible to the relatively wealthy and educated. I will reflect on these question by relating the notions “Bildung” and “Bildungsbürgertum” to the context of the events.

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

### 1.3 Diaspora Communities – Crossing Borders and Building Networks

Besides the above presented aspects of analysis it is important to very briefly introduce another approach. It is related to the scholarly claim to go beyond national categories and concentrate on individual and collective experiences of travelling or constituting a dispersed community. The concept of transnationalism to the (historical or contemporary) experience of travelling, migrating, being on the way. This approach is in fact inspired by the modern, globalised world, where the means of transport became available for many people. Another common experience is the practice of *crossing borders* moving from one entity into another or even oscillate from time to time between working and living place.<sup>61</sup> In last decades borders became a new subject of social studies as a phenomenon shaping identity and social practices. This subchapter attempts to define basic notions of transnationalism and relate them to the research.

Serbian population was during the 19<sup>th</sup> century dispersed in two states; the Habsburg-ruled Hungarian Kingdom and the Northern *pashaliks* of the Ottoman Empire, becoming after 1804 the semi-autonomous Serbian Principality. Serbs were living in these two countries under quite different circumstances. The members of the dispersed community maintained a sort of belonging to their home territories. In my case their identity was canonised by the proto-national Serbian Orthodox Church,<sup>62</sup> having a wide-reaching ecclesiastic autonomy since 1790 issued by the Habsburg emperor Leopold I.<sup>63</sup> In this sense we can speak about a classical *diaspora*.<sup>64</sup> Emerging national movements in the 19<sup>th</sup> century could profit from this feeling of belonging, by creating narratives, lieux de mémoire, concepts which mobilised people in the name of a novel type of identity, that of modern nations. In the case of the analysed events, the performances themselves or the discourses around them had a long aftermath within and beyond the borders of Buda and Pest. Therefore it is possible to see these performances as manifestations of diaspora nationalism.

This thesis mostly analyses activities of groups and individuals belonging to the Serbian national elite in Buda and Pest. For these groups, moving between states, crossing borders was (under the general circumstances of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) not a rare experience. Not only individuals were moving though, books, periodicals and thus in the abstract sense ideas were oscillating between Serbian

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<sup>62</sup> On the concept of the proto-nationalist *ethnie* see: Smith, Anthony D. 1987. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Blackwell.

<sup>63</sup> Hegedűs, Antal. 1992. "A szerbek perszonális és területi autonómiája Magyarországon 1690 és 1868 között," In: *Létünk* 1992/4-5: 215–238.

<sup>64</sup> Cohen, Robin 2008. *Global Diasporas. An Introduction*. London: Routledge: 3-4.

communities. The most important of this point of view is the construction and maintenance of networks of diaspora. These network were not only based on personal contacts, magazines, journals, even telegrams played an important role. By defining “beseda” cultural evenings as events of self-representation, one should be aware of the fact that the organisers did not represent themselves only on the level of urban cultural milieus, but on in the networks of diaspora as well, putting Buda and Pest to the map of Serbian diaspora and Serbian lands (these links are in many cases visualised in the thesis). In the second half of the analysed time period even the institutionalisation of these – mostly temporary - networks began with the establishing of the organisation “Serbian United Youth” (See chapter 3).

## 2. George Brankovich and His Public - A Serbian-Hungarian Drama on Stage in Pest

The first series of events to be analysed are performances of the drama “Brankovics György” (George Brankovich) written by Hungarian scene writers Károly Obernyik, Gyula Bulyovszky and Gábor Egressy. The piece was on stage between 1856 and 1866 in the Hungarian National Theatre and from 1860 it had considerable success among Serbs in and outside Buda and Pest. In the next chapter I intend to examine the reasons why a Hungarian-language piece could become a Serbian symbol in and beyond the Buda-Pest urban environment despite of considerable differences compared to the Serbian national discourse on the figure of the medieval despot George Brankovich. In order to do so I will apply the term *Bildungsbürgertum* [educational bourgeoisie] to the (Serbian) elite of the twin cities and point out some aspects of the public sphere created and maintained by them. These ideas will help to examine the question why this drama had a long aftermath and why it can be seen as an important milestone in Serbian theatre history.

### 2.1 Buda-Pest *Bildungsbürgertum* and Theatre

The thesis intends to define two social groups, the activities of which were crucial from the point of view of the events analysed; *Bildungsbürgertum* and the Buda-Pest university youth. I will do so despite of obvious overlapping between these two urban groups. It is possible to define for instance a young intellectual as a *Bildungsbürger* and member of the university youth as well. However, the distinct definition of the two notions (connected to a case study) helps to cast light on some characteristics of the Buda-Pest public sphere to allow for a more thorough analysis of the social context of “Serbian” events in the urban space.

The first group can be defined with the German notion *Bildungsbürgertum* (educational bourgeoisie), describing the group who were an important supporter and audience of Serbian events in Buda and Pest. Since this name is rather used as a research category than the self-designation of a community (unlike Serbian youth or university youth), the first important task of this chapter is to define this notion in the Buda-Pest context. I will use the definition of the notion as delivered by Werner Conze and Jürgen Kocka and try to apply it to Serbian intellectuals shaping the Buda-Pest urban milieu. As a next step I will examine the links between theatre and *Bildungsbürgertum* in the context of the dynamics of the Buda-Pest urban cultural milieu. These examinations will bring us to the question why a Hungarian drama performed in Buda and Pest in Hungarian piece became an important manifestation and even a symbol of the Buda-Pest Serbian milieu.

### 2.1.1 *Bildungsbürgertum* – Biographies, Institutions, Networks

*Bildungsbürgertum* is a notion applicable in many different eras and social contexts<sup>65</sup>, here I will concentrate on its definition by the German historians Werner Conze and Jürgen Kocka in their introduction to a volume of works edited by them entitled “*Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*” (“*Bildungsbürgertum in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*”). They refer to the growing scholarly interest in the 1980's for a specific group of 19<sup>th</sup>-century bourgeoisie (*Bürgertum*) which can be defined by their access to *Bildung*. According to the definition of the Working Group for Modern Social History (*Arbeitskreis für moderne Sozialgeschichte*)

*”Bildungsbürgertum is that group of the bourgeoisie for whom life situation and life chances are defined by their possession of educational patents [Bildungspatente]”*<sup>66</sup>

Here we arrive to the notion of “*Bildung*”, which is a complex concept including the English meanings “education”, “formation”, “cultural background”, “personal development or perfection” and “cultivation”. In the original (German) academic context it was related to the German protestant milieu, however the French historian Jacques Le Rider used it as one of the key notions to describe the Viennese Jewish milieu and Jewish emancipation efforts as well.<sup>67</sup> *Bildungsbürgertum* as a social class can be seen as a group consisting of lawyers, medics, merchants and other influential burghers being both *educated* and *educating*, and involved in cultural activities. The notion is often connected to newly emerging categories of identity; to nations. As the German philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder evokes:

*”(...) denn jedes Volk ist Volk: es hat seine National Bildung wie seine Sprache.”*  
*[(...) because every people is a people having national Bildung and an own language]*<sup>68</sup>

So according to Herder a *Volk* (people) has to possess own forms and institutions of *Bildung*, as well

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<sup>65</sup> A monography in the sense of “*conceptual and dogma's history*”: Engelhardt, Ulrich. 1986. “*Bildungsbürgertum.*” *Begriffs-Und Dogmengeschichte Eines Etiketts*. Stuttgart. [*Bildungsbürgertum – Conceptual and Dogmatic History of a Label*]

<sup>66</sup> Conze, Werner-Kocka, Jürgen 1985: Einleitung. In: Conze-Kocka: *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert. I. Band*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta: 11. [*Bildungsbürgertum in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*]

<sup>67</sup> Le Rider, Jacques. 1989. “*Modernité Viennoise et Crises de L’identité.*” Paris 4. <http://www.theses.fr/1988PA040129>. Downloaded on 2015.6.7.

<sup>68</sup> Anderson cites Herder, In: Anderson 2006, 67.

as an own language. In that sense, nation building is deeply connected to cultural efforts to create own, particular forms of Bildung. However, development and maintenance of Serbian Bildung was happening in a multinational urban space, where urban milieus were always interacting and influencing each other. This paradox will be visible in the case of “Serbian” events in Buda and Pest which (sometimes despite of the claims of the organisers) could never be seen as manifestations of only one “*National Bildung*”.

### 2.1.2 Lawyers, Philanthropists, Writers – Three Serbian Bildungsbürger in Pest

Can we speak about a Serbian Bildungsbürgertum in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Buda and Pest? I will start by adapting the notion to the Serbian milieu at the level of individual biographies by presenting some biographical data of three important Serbian *Bildungsbürger*; Jovan Hadžić, Sava Tekelija and Jakov Ignjatović, who had an essential role in the development of the Serbian urban milieu and national movement. The choice is certainly arbitrary; however it is possible to indicate some common points in the slightly different curriculum vitae to be able to define this group.

Jovan Hadžić (Hadzsics János) was born in 1799 in Sombor (Northern Bačka) Having studied philology and law in Pest and in Vienna, in 1826 he obtained his doctoral title in Pest. In the same year he was among the merchants founding Matica srpska (literally Serbian Queen Bee), an association meant to support the Sciences and Arts magazine *Serbskij Letopis* (of which he served as its editor). Much of the academic work of Hadžić is dedicated to the struggle against the new linguistic agenda based on the policies of Vuk Karadžić, who elaborated a new linguistic standard based on the popular language. Hadžić however argued for the older Serbian language, the Slaveno-Serbian variant. In 1837 he moved to the Serbian Principality, where he elaborated a Civil Code for that autonomous entity. Later on, he returned to the Hungarian Kingdom. During the neo-absolutism of Alexander Bach he was appointed to public positions. He retired in 1854, but until his death in 1869 he worked as editor of several literary magazines. He used the artist pseudonym Miloš Svetić. He is mostly known as one of founders of Matica, a passionate defender of older Serbian grammar and spelling, and as an author of the Serbian Civil Code.<sup>69</sup>

Sava Popović Tekelija (Tököly Száva or Sebő in Hungarian) was born in 1761 in Arad in a wealthy noble family being a descendant of a captain of the Habsburg forces fighting against the

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<sup>69</sup> Subotić, Ljiljana 2013: “Јован Хаджић.” In Hadžić, Jovan: Спомени из мојега дневника. Novi Sad: Matica srpska.

Ottomans. Sava Tekelija became affiliated with the city of Pest during his high school and university studies, being the first Serbian student becoming a Doctor of Law. During the 1790's the Serbian *sabor* (Church diet) he argued *against* an autonomous Serbian entity against the majority of the participants at the gathering. At that time, he was also in service of the state, being the vice notary of the county Csanád. Around the turn of the century he returned to Pest and dedicated his time to trade activities. As a respectable member of the Buda-Pest Serbian community he was elected to the president of Matica srpska. Under his presidency this association turned into a scientific organisation, an Academy of Sciences and Arts. The same year he set up the Serbian student's college, which became the seat of Matica and many Serbian activities in Buda and Pest. However, he did not only support Serbian national projects, but also Hungarian ones granting money for instance for the students of the Lutheran college in Debrecen. He died on the 21<sup>st</sup> of September 1842, a day often commemorated in the next years. Later on, his birthday – and namesday - was celebrated every year, he was constantly referred to as a great benefactor (*veliki dobrotvorac*) of the Serbian nation. The events celebrating the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his birthday both in Novi Sad and Debrecen have to be mentioned here. He was an iconic member of the Buda-Pest Serbian community, still at the same time had contacts with many Hungarian intellectuals, himself being a medium-level public official and belonging to the Hungarian nobility as well. These circumstances offered him connections to the Hungarian elite. Sava Tekelija had access to the institutions of Bildung; he was one of the Serbian pioneers at the Pest university. Moreover, he was not only educated (*gebildet*), he was supporting education (*educating, bildend*) as well; he tried to widen the access to the educational infrastructure by offering poor Serbian students an opportunity to live in Buda-Pest and participate in Serbian activities.<sup>70</sup> Moreover, he helped develop specifically Serbian institutions thus largely contributing to the framework of Serbian Bildung in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Jakov Ignjatović (Ignjatovity Jakab) was born in 1822 in the town of Szentendre (Sentandreja) North of Buda. He attended the University in Pest, but for a time he interrupted his studies and joined the Habsburg Army as a hussar. In 1848 he supported the Serbian movement in Sremski Karlovci, but after some conflicts with its leaders he rather joined the Hungarian side and fought against the Habsburg and Russian troops. After the defeat of the Hungarian insurgency he fled to Belgrade, where he lived until his return to Pest in 1853. He was appointed to be the editor of the magazine *Srbskij Letopis* between 1853 and 1856. During his Pest years he wrote his first, at the same time the first Serbian historical novel at all; *Đurađ Branković* published in 1859. In the early 1860's he got involved

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<sup>70</sup> Kovaček 1997, 5-11.



in Serbian liberal politics, but as soon as relations between the Serbian and Hungarian movements deteriorated, he left Svetozar Miletić's People's Party and defended the Austro-Hungarian Compromise. From that point in the Serbian public he was often referred to as a "*Mađaron*" a rather negative term used to refer to people supporting "Hungarian" goals. Ignjatović spent his last years in Novi Sad and in the village of Dalj not far from Osijek. He dedicated his time to putting down his novels in writing, for which he is best known: *Čudan svet* (*Strange world*), *Večiti mladoženja* (*Eternal fiancé*) and *Vasa Rešpekt*. His oeuvre is known for the description of the life of Serbs in the diaspora in Hungary (in Szentendre and elsewhere). He is seen as an important representative of a realist current in Serbian literature in an era dominated by romanticism.<sup>71</sup>

The above presented biographies have a trait in common; all three persons have their origins in wealthy and influential families, the Serbian urban elite of that time. They all had access to *Bildung*; they were participating in higher education in Buda-Pest the most important and most prestigious educational centre of the Hungarian Kingdom. This background gave them the possibility to establish connections with Hungarian and Slavic intellectuals as well. Although they lived important parts of their lives in Buda and Pest, they were at the same time "mobile" – moving inside and outside of the Habsburg monarchy, often crossing borders. Hadžić, Tekelija and Ignjatović occupied various positions in public administration. They were all involved in politics both at "national" level (participating in Hungarian diets) and at the level of the Serbian communities (taking part in discussions). An important part of Hadžić's, Tekelija's and Ignjatović's oeuvre is connected to the cities of Buda and Pest. Their contributions to Serbian culture essentially shaped the urban cultural milieu in the twin cities. It is also important to mention that besides their profession (lawyers) all three personalities worked as *hommes de lettre* of the Serbian community – taking part (sometimes taking different sides) in cultural, linguistic and political polemics.

This work uses the notion Serbian Bildungsbürgertum in the above mentioned sense. It can be briefly defined as a wealthy and privileged group of the Serbian community, which had an essential role in establishing (non-ecclesiastic) Serbian institutions. Serbian Bildungsbürgertum were on the one hand connected to diaspora networks and committed supporters and actors of the Serbian nation's progress. On the other hand, they can be also seen as representing a part of the urban, multinational intelligentsia of Buda and Pest.

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<sup>71</sup> Petrović, V 1929. "Jakov Ignjatović." In *Narodna enciklopedija srpsko-hrvatsko-slovenačka. II. Knjiga*. Uredio St. Stanojević. Zagreb: Bibliografski zavod: 4-5. [Serbian-Croatian-Slovanian National Encyclopedia]

### 2.1.3 Bildungsbürgertum and Serbian *Öffentlichkeit* in Buda and Pest

In order to get closer to the Serbian milieu created and maintained by Serbian Bildungsbürger it is useful to apply the classical concept of the modern public sphere (*Öffentlichkeit*) as defined by Jürgen Habermas, a German sociologist related to the critical social theory of the Frankfurt School.<sup>72</sup> He describes in his book the transition, during which the public sphere (open to every citizen) formed since the early modern ages. Habermas describes this change as a long, complex process as parallel to the rise of the financial and trade capitalism where various forms of the bourgeois public sphere were appearing and step by step replacing the feudal, *repräsentative Öffentlichkeit*.<sup>73</sup> These forms and institutions were based on the practice of public reasoning, including the political and literal public sphere (*politische und literarische Öffentlichkeit*).<sup>74</sup> Habermas names various institutions and places of the literary public sphere, such as the Salon (in France), the coffeehouse (in Britain) and the *Tischgesellschaft* (“table society”; in German lands).<sup>75</sup> Additionally, the author is writing about the importance of printed literary publications and of literary critics creating a community of readers (*Lesewelt*).<sup>76</sup> The above briefly evoked main points by Habermas on the making of a new type of complex sphere are useful for the definition and analysis of the forms created by Serbian Bildungsbürger in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Buda and Pest, which played the decisive role in the Serbian perception of the piece George Brankovich. In the following part I will briefly deal with three such aspects or institutions; Serbian publications issued in Buda and Pest, Matica srpska as a major cultural institution and last but not least the stakes of Serbian-Hungarian theatre cooperation.

#### 2.1.3.1 Serbskij Letopis

In order to understand the reception of a theatre piece on a Serbian subject, we should take a look at an important element of Serbian *Öffentlichkeit*; at the only and most important Serbian press product issued in this urban space. Of course, not only Buda-Pest newspapers, magazines and other press products reported from cultural events. However, in order to create a powerful narrative and reception for the Serbian *Lesewelt* it is important to have press products based in this urban space. Buda and Pest had a longer history of Serbian press in the city, including Teodor Pavlović’s Serbian

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<sup>72</sup> Habermas, Jürgen. 1990. *Strukturwandel Der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Öffentlichkeit*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp. [*The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*]

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* 58.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.* 89.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.* 90-94.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* 54.

Popular Newspaper until 1848<sup>77</sup> although at the beginning of the analysed time period no other<sup>78</sup> Serbian periodical was published in Buda and Pest but *Serbskij Letopis*, [*Serbian Yearbook*]. This magazine had for decades been issued under different names and with different orthographies; today it is published as *Letopis Matice srpske* – Yearbook of Matica srpska).<sup>79</sup> The idea of establishing a Serbian scientific and literary magazine was born in 1824, as the poet Lukijan Mušicki, the above mentioned lawyer Jovan Hadžić and the Slovak poet and teacher of the Novi Sad gymnasium (grammar school) Pavol Josif Šafarik were collaborating in the founding of this yearly publication. They attempted to create a magazine, which is dealing with both Serbian and other Slavic culture publishing scientific, philological and literary contributions. Another teacher from Novi Sad, Georgije Magarašević was appointed as its first editor. From 1826 policies and activities of the magazine were linked to those of Matica srpska, “Letopis” could be seen as an official scientific-literary organ of this institution. The magazine had clear linguistic policies by refusing Vuk Karadžić’s reform and insisting on the usage of an older Serbian orthography (until 1847 in the Slaveno-Serbian language variant).<sup>80</sup> This linguistic policy had been changed as the magazine left Pest for Novi Sad in 1864 and at the same time adopted Vuk’s orthography.

Among the authors of *Serbskij Letopis* we can find Serbian and other Slavic intellectuals from Buda-Pest and other regions of the Hungarian Kingdom. It contained various genres ranging from scientific-historical-methodological contributions to literary texts published as a whole or as a serial. The magazine contributed to the Serbian national historical narrative in highlighting historical figures and events from the past in order to create a continuity between medieval Serbian states and the contemporary national movement. Among these figures Đurađ Branković, the future main person of Obernyik’s drama had a distinguished role. Literary and scientific contributions in *Letopis* directed the reader’s attention to the Serbian past and thus helped to create a discourse involving the community of readers (*Lesewelt*) of *Letopis*. But how far could the impact of such a magazine go? The magazine itself delivered valuable data on the subscribers by listing them from time to time at the end of the issue. So did they at the end of the second number of 1855 – the issue which contained

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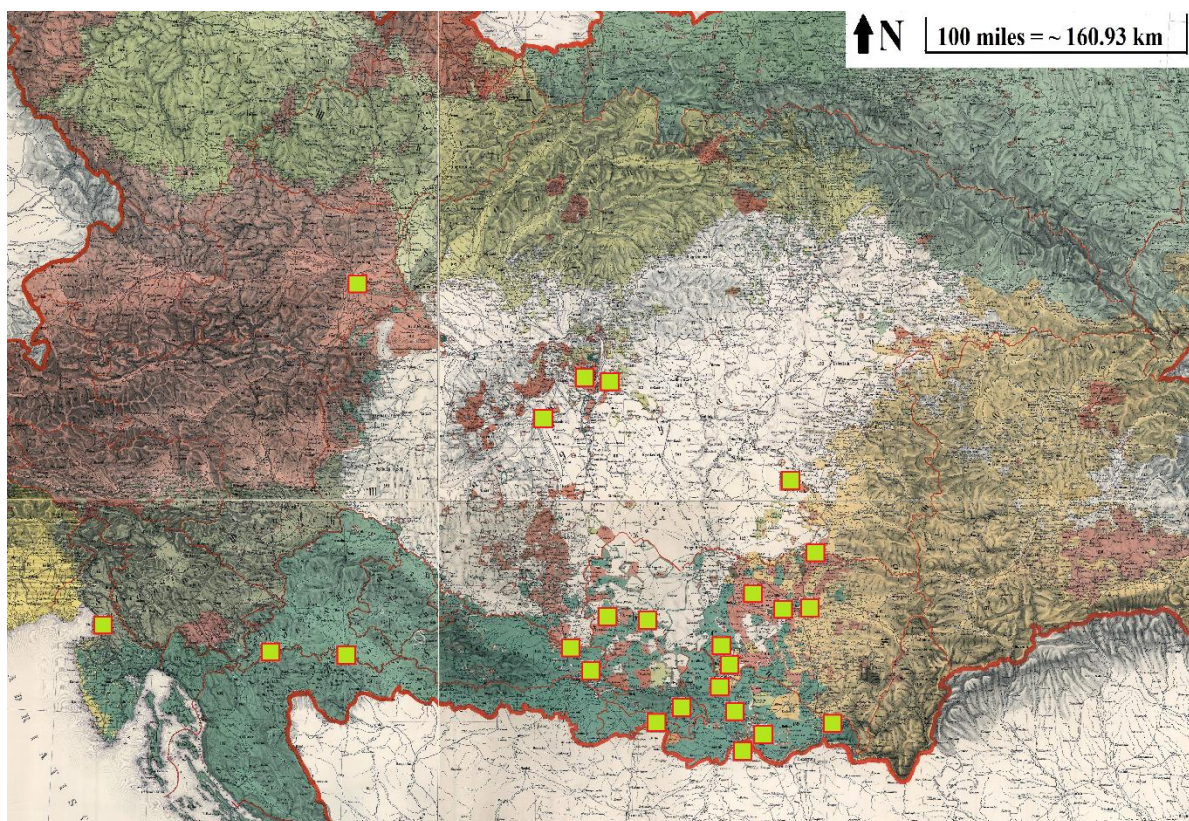
<sup>77</sup> Vujicsics, Sztoján. 1997b. “A magyarországi szerb sajtó másfél Évszázada - Teodor Pavlović Pesti Szerb Néplapja.” In *Magyarok és Szerbek - Tanulmányok*, 91–95. Újvidék: Forum. [“One and a Half Centuries of Serbian Press in Hungary – Serbian Popular Newspaper of Teodor Pavlović.”]

<sup>78</sup> From around 1864 however more magazines and newspapers were started in the cities.

<sup>79</sup> *Летопис Матице српске. Интернет презентација Матице српске*. <http://www.maticasrpska.org.rs/letopis-matrice-srpske/> Downloaded on 2015.05.20.

<sup>80</sup> Herrity, Peter. 1973. “The Role of the Matica and Similar Societies in the Development of the Slavonic Literary Languages.” *The Slavonic and East European Review*: 375

the first part of Jakov Ignjatović's historical novel on George Brankovich.<sup>81</sup> Among the subscribers are two people from Buda: the Matica president of the time, Pavle Koić and the organisation's secretary D. Davidović.<sup>82</sup> Seventeen people, mostly merchants and many of them members of Matica subscribed to the magazine in Pest<sup>83</sup>, among them the wealthy patron and big landowner in the county of Torontál, Jovan Nako de Nagyszentmiklós.<sup>84</sup>



**Figure 2.1 Territorial Distribution of Abonnements of Serbskij Letopis in 1855.**

Source: *Serbskij Letopis* 1855/2: 171-172.

Locations (today's official name; number of subscribers): Arad (12), Bajša (2), Beograd (27), Beograd Stolni (Székesfehérvár 1), Beč (Vienna; 2), Berekso (Bereksău Mare; 1), Beserminj (not identifiable; probably Hajdúböszörmény – not shown on the map 1), Bela Crkva (10). Bečkerek (Zrenjanin; 5), Budim (Buda; 2), Vukovar (2), Irig (1), Karlovac (8), Komloš (8) – Nagykomlós (Comloșu Mare), Melenci (Zrenjanin) (6), Sr. Mitrovica (13), Opovo (1), Osek (Osijek; 2), Pančevo (27), Pešta (Pesta; 18), Sisak (1), Skribešće (not identifiable; 1), Sombor (1), Tamišgrad (Timișoara) (10), Titel (1), Triest (2), Jamina (Békéscsaba) (1)

Based on the map: Czoernig, Karl Freiherr von 1855: *Ethnographische Karte der Oesterreichischen Monarchie*. Wikimedia Commons.

<sup>81</sup> See in the latter part of this chapter.

<sup>82</sup> *Serbskij Letopis* 1855/2: 155.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid, 156.

<sup>84</sup> Today: Sannicolau Mare, Romania.

The list includes people from other twenty-eight towns and cities of and beyond the Hungarian Kingdom, including Vienna and Belgrade – as visualised on the map above. To sum up, the magazine *Serbskij Letopis* affiliated with the association *Matica srpska* can be seen as an essential element in creating a Serbian public sphere ranging beyond the borders of Buda and Pest and the state as well. Since this magazine was since its creation the most prestigious (and during its first decades the only) magazine dealing with scientific (philological, historical, pedagogical) topics and publishing literary works as well. For Serbian (and non-Serbian) intellectuals publication in “*Letopis*” was important in order to present themselves to the broader public as a successful and influential writers or scholars. It is possible to see this kind of self-representation in the case of the readers as well. As we will see in the next chapter, other press products based in Buda and Pest and Novi Sad were founded and gained on importance in the early 1860’s however it is important to mention that *Serbskij Letopis* played a key role for the public sphere based in Buda and Pest.

### 2.1.3.2 *Matica srpska*

The history of the most important Serbian cultural institution in Buda and Pest of the analysed era is closely related to *Srbskij Letopis*. The idea of *Matica srpska* was born as an answer to a situation of lacking readers. In order to provide help for *Letopis*, Serbian burgher of Buda and Pest met in the house of the merchant Jovan Demetrović to discuss possible plans to develop Serbian culture. They had chosen to establish a scientific institution based on the recent model of the Hungarian Educated Society (later known as the Hungarian Academy of Sciences). So on the 4<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> of February six merchants founded *Matica srpska*.<sup>85</sup> The newly founded association was supposed to coordinate Serbian publishing activities beyond the *Letopis* as well. *Matica* is known today as a national Academy of Sciences and Arts, however it underwent several major organisational changes throughout its history. One can distinguish three major periods until 1867. In the first period, *Matica srpska* could be rather seen as a loose organisation of patrons and friends of *Letopis*. This state changed radically when Sava Tekelija became president of the association. Tekelija reformed *Matica* thoroughly, introducing scientific sections and by his generous support substantially improving the available resources and the conditions of its work.<sup>86</sup> This second era of *Matica* is characterised by a more stable organisation, with three office holders defining the standpoints and activities, and basically marking eras of the association; the editor of *Letopis*, the president and the secretary of

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<sup>85</sup> Vujicsics, Sztoján. 1997b. “A Szerb *Matica* Pesti Évtizedei (1824-1864).” In *Magyarok És Szerbek - Tanulmányok*, 96–100. Újvidék: Forum.

<sup>86</sup> Kovaček 1997, 5-11.



Matica. Tekelija also founded Tekelijanum, a student's college. Its building served in the next decades as a Serbian community center; with rooms for festivities, editorial boards and for Matica's activities. The conflicts in 1848 and 1849 can be seen as a rupture from the point of view of Matica as well. The association suspended its activities and Tekelijanum closed its doors during the hostilities. In the early 1850's the idea of resettling Matica to Novi Sad, the emerging Serbian urban centre in Northern Bačka was already born, which was certainly influenced by the experience of Serbian intellectuals leaving Buda and Pest, with the birthplace of the Hungarian revolution becoming hostile towards them. However, in the official reports on the necessity of moving were rather underlining practical reasons – for instance that only few people could attend the association's assembly. The idea to move was already evoked, however, the actual procedure needed more time and at the end Matica was refounded in 1864 in Novi Sad.<sup>87</sup> This event constitutes an important context for the Serbian national movement's dynamics in the analysed years. All further events should be analysed in light of this event. When analysing importance of Serbian and Serbian-Hungarian events one should not forget about this general trend and spacial dynamics of the Serbian national movement.

Matica srpska is not institutionally involved in any of the analysed Serbian events, however it should be mentioned as the most important Serbian institution thematising and shaping the Serbian public sphere. Its reputation went far beyond the borders of Buda and Pest, or the Hungarian Kingdom. For instance, the princes of Serbia and the urban elite of Belgrade and Kragujevac used to be members and supporters of the association as well. Therefore it was a huge loss for the Serbian community of Buda and Pest that Matica left. The focus of the thesis does not allow forgoing further more into detail concerning the characteristics and activities of Matica srpska. At this point I would like to draw the attention to several further aspects to reveal how the association shaped the Serbian public sphere. First of all we should mention its huge impact on other Slavic national movements. Soon after its founding Matica srpska served as an example and organisational pattern for other national movements, many of which founded their own Maticas. Matica srpska (and its official organ *Serbskij Letopis*) delivered a scientific framework in which scientific, philological and even political discourses could appear and be discussed. In these discussions members of the Matica, among them citizen of Buda and Pest, could participate.

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<sup>87</sup> Kimball, Stanley B. 1973. "The Austro-Slav Revival: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Literary Foundations." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 18.

### 2.1.3.3 Serbian Theatre and the Public Sphere

The above referred Habermasian transition from a representative into a *bürgerliche* [bourgeois] critical Öffentlichkeit can be related to the Central European theatre history throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a process which breaks the dominance of theatres related to the ruler's courts and imposes a concept of bourgeois national theatres as an important element of the public sphere. In the German lands this change can be related to the pre-1848 rise of nationalism, the so-called Vormärz.<sup>88</sup> In fact in the Hungarian (and Buda-Pest) case we can see that modern national theatre started after and against the dynastic efforts of the enlightened absolutist emperor Joseph II. In the urban space of Buda and Pest three theatre culture developed. At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the German-language theatre scene dominated. As its most representative institution we should mention the German Theatre of Pest (1812-1847) and another scene in the Buda castle (*Várszínház*).<sup>89</sup> The Hungarian and the Serbian theatre developed later, and their presence in the multinational city can be related to the national goals. For instance it is possible to describe the Hungarian case as a process of nation building from the establishment of the first company in 1790 until the successful efforts to establish a Hungarian-language theatre scene, with its most important institution, the National Theatre. The latter institution was established in 1837 under the name "Hungarian Theatre" obtaining in 1840 the designation "national".<sup>90</sup>

So, the most important effort of the Hungarian national movement considering the dramatics was fulfilled, having an independent, permanent and prestigious institution organising plays in the national language. The Serbian intellectuals of the Hungarian Kingdom still were in the 1860's still at the beginning of the organisation of such an institution. The Novi Sad-based company "*Srpsko narodno pozorište*" [*Serbian National Theatre*] came into being in 1861 under its first director Jovan Đorđević. Besides Novi Sad, Buda and Pest however played an essential role in the early Serbian theatre, where the first professional theatre play in Serbian language (a translation of August von Kotzebue's *Jay*) was presented in 1813 in the (otherwise Hungarian-language) theatre *Rondella* in Pest in the cooperation of Joakim Vujić and István Balog. Zoltán Györe points out the immediate antecedent of this event, performing a Hungarian-language drama dealing with a recent event, the

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<sup>88</sup> So does for instance Meike Wagner in her monography on theatres and Öffentlichkeit in Berlin, Munich and Vienna in the period of Vormärz.. See: Wagner, Meike. 2013. *Theater und Öffentlichkeit im Vormärz: Berlin, München und Wien als Schauplätze bürgerlicher Medienpraxis*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 35-36. [*Theatre and Public Space in Vormärz: Berlin, Munich and Vienna as Scenes of Bourgeois Practices of Media*]

<sup>89</sup> "Német nyelvű színjátszás Magyarországon" In ["German-language Theatre in Hungary"] In Székely, György 1994. Magyar Színművészeti Lexikon. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. [<http://mek.oszk.hu/02100/02139/html/index.html>]  
Downloaded on 2015.6.7.

<sup>90</sup> Székely 1990, 61, 264.

“liberation of Belgrade” from the Ottomans by the Serbian insurgents, Đorđe Petrović (*Karađorđe, Black George or Cserni György*).<sup>91</sup> In his analysis we can already find many important aspects of Serbian-Hungarian cultural events; the public interest in other Serbian regions, a Hungarian-language play on a Serbian topic (later translated to Serbian as well).<sup>92</sup> In this important example of Serbian-Hungarian theatre cooperation involving students and wealthy Serbian Bürger of Pest supporting the play and being its public.

We can see the same cooperation of young Serbian students and Bildungsbürger almost 50 years later as several young intellectuals (including Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Jovan Đorđević) and students of Tekelijanum gave amateur performances of several pieces. These dramas included Serbian pieces such as those of Lazar Lazarević and Jovan Sterija Popović but German and Slovak pieces as well (translated into Serbian).<sup>93</sup> These events were however hosted in private homes of Serbian citizens of Buda.<sup>94</sup> In these cases we can speak about events at semi-public places. These performances were organised parallelly to the Hungarian-language plays of “George Brankovich” and the perception of them both can be related to efforts to develop Serbian dramatics. The above mentioned National Theatre company was being established in these years, which needed many resources, such as a permanent building, regular incomes. Besides these physical requirements, one has to mention however the very need for pieces to be performed. The above mentioned performances can be seen as experimental events to show recently translated dramas in smaller-scale performances, to develop the Serbian dramatics and widen the repertoire of the Serbian National Theatre. That gives another aspect to the understanding of the positive reception of George Brankovich, which was later translated and showed in Novi Sad and elsewhere.

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<sup>91</sup> Györe 2007.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, 78-79.

<sup>93</sup> Kovaček 2003, 91.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, 44.



## 2.2. Key study: the drama *George Brankovich* by Károly Obernyik

The above subchapter presented important places and institutions of self-representation of the Serbian public sphere. In the next part we shall see how Serbian and Hungarian *Bildungsbürger* in this multinational public sphere were perceiving a historical drama on a Serbian topic. This subchapter focuses on the perception of the Hungarian language drama “*George Brankovich*” written by the Hungarian writer Károly Obernyik and finished, after his death, by the well-known and renowned actor Gábor Egressy. The historical tragedy<sup>95</sup> interprets the story of the 15<sup>th</sup> century despot, who, according to the play, is facing a dilemma of either taking sides with their “Hungarian brothers” and natural allies or with the luring Ottoman Turks. Because of choosing the Sultan's side, he (and the Serbian people in general) experiences a series of personal and national tragedies. The piece was introduced and played in the Hungarian National Theatre in Hungarian language, so one can ask the question: what has it to do with “Serbian” Buda and Pest? The analysis of the concrete context however shows that it was seen as a symbol of Serbian-Hungarian relations (friendship) and also as part of a wider discourse on the occasion of the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the despot's death. Therefore I see this piece as a symbol or a *Schnittstelle* (cutting surface of urban cultural milieus) in Csáky's sense.

Not only the piece itself, also the story of its writing and reception is extremely dramatic and these circumstances allow me to focus on certain dates in the course of my research. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 1856 the piece had its première in the National Theatre. The drama was presented several times each year, but – according to the contemporary press – the performance had its biggest success on the 16<sup>th</sup> of February 1860, when the “Serbian Youth”<sup>96</sup> visited the play and showed their respect towards the actors and the idea of it. On the 30<sup>th</sup> of July 1866 Gábor Egressy, a popular Hungarian actor died on the scene during a performance of “*Brankovich*”. He lost consciousness on the stage and after a few hours he passed away. The dates above mark the most important events regarding the scene play and thus allow for a research into the reports and reviews on these events in Hungarian- and Serbian-language newspapers and magazines.

### 2.2.1 From Enemies to Brothers – The Making of the Piece

It is particularly interesting to take a look at the biographies and oeuvre of the two major contributors to “*George Brankovich*”. Károly Obernyik, member of a Calvinist family from Eastern

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<sup>95</sup>Obernyik Károly 1878. *Szépirodalmi összes munkái ; sajtó alá rend. és életrajzzal kieg. Ferenczy József .II. kötet:* Pest: Lauffer: 405-457. [*All Belletristic Works*]

<sup>96</sup> On the formation and composition of this group see the next chapter.

Hungary (Nyírség region) was educated by Ferenc Kölcsey, one of the most important Hungarian writers of the era, the author of the poem “*Hymnus*”, which was canonised as the Hungarian national anthem. Obernyik supported the Hungarian national movement in the 1840s. His radical thoughts can be observed especially in the drama “Főúr és pór” [“The Master and the Poor”] in 1844. After the defeat of the Hungarian national uprising he worked as a professor of the Calvinist college in the town of Kecskemét. At this time Obernyik became interested in Serbian topics; he published two short stories dealing with Serbians and the Serb lands.<sup>97</sup> He started to write “Brankovics György” in Kecskemét in 1854. As a major player of the national literary movement he suddenly attempted to write a work about the importance of Serbian-Hungarian relations, which he regarded as the most important piece of his oeuvre. In the same year, several cases of cholera in the town were reported. Horrified and in a hurry Obernyik left Kecskemét for Pest, where he worked on “Brankovics” in a closed hotel room. There his disease appeared and progressed, and he passed away in the same year leaving his drama unfinished. In the end the well-known actor Gábor Egressy and Gyula Bulyovszky finished the remaining acts.<sup>98</sup>

In the case of Gábor Egressy it is possible to speak of an even more drastic change of opinion regarding the Serbs. This development is, of course, apparent in his oeuvre as well. In 1848 the celebrated actor was publicly demonstrating his willingness to fight against Serbian forces in the South. He, being a member of the National Guard, sent his 16-year-old son to the army to fight against the uprising. That move (sending his minor son to battles) provoked heated polemic in the Hungarian public too. Obernyik received a letter from a “retired teacher” accusing him of being a “bad father”. He answered in public in the magazine “*Életképek*” by writing sarcastically, that

*“No Serbian priest could give a wiser advice to a Hungarian father [than you did], with that document you can surely go to Karlowitz [Sremski Karlovci, the center of the Serbian uprising], Rajačić will reward you.”*<sup>99</sup>

However, later in the 1850's he got engaged in writing and playing a drama on Serbian(-Hungarian) history. He played the main role as an “honorary performance”, being a sign of the respect by of the society. Given their background it is surprising to see, how these two prominent figures of

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<sup>97</sup>Titles of the stories: „Szép rácslány” („Pretty Serbian Girl”) and „Rácsládkalandok” („Adventures in Serb Lands”). Fried 1982: 328-329.

<sup>98</sup>This romantic description of events can be found in: Hegedűs, Gyula 1991. *A magyar irodalom arcképcsarnoka*. [http://www.mek.oszk.hu/01100/01149/html/obernyik.htm] Downloaded on 2014.05.26.

<sup>99</sup>„Bölcsebb tanácsokat a magyar apáknak akármely rácsládkópá sem adhatna, 's ez oklevéllel ön bizvást elmehet Karloviczra, Rajasics meg fogja jutalmazni.” In: *Életképek* 1848 szept.: 10.

the Hungarian literary movement were opposing the Serbian political agenda in 1848-1849, but later made an important contribution to the Serbian national culture. Furthermore, in view of the success of the piece, we can say that the majority of the Hungarian Bildungsbürger also changed their attitude towards the Serbs.

### 2.2.2 Historical Context and Story of the Drama

The figure of the despot Đurađ Branković (known both as George Brankovich and Brankovics György) was a very suitable choice for a Hungarian-Serbian historical tragedy. During his rule (1427-1456) the two medieval states of Hungary and the at that time semi-independent Serbian Despotate (*Srpska despotovina*) were having a relation of both peace and war in the context of the slowly but surely ongoing Ottoman conquest. Being at the beginning an ally and vassal of the Hungarian King Sigismund of Luxembourg, he played the role of the intermediary at the peace pact of Szeged in 1444 between Ottomans and Hungarians. In Hungarian historiography it appears that he hesitated to join a new campaign of the ambitious Hungarian warlord John Hunyadi, who was at the end defeated in the second battle at Kosovo Polje in 1448.

Historical events of this era had a strong impact on both Hungarian and Serbian national identity. Nationalising elites of both groups saw a strong continuity between the medieval state and the modern nation. This idea was particularly strong in the case of the emerging modern Serbian historiography, as authors (Jovan Rajić, Count Đorđe Branković and others) underlined the role of certain historical figures, pointing it out as a Golden Age (mostly related to Czar Dušan), decadence and national tragedy (Kosovo).<sup>100</sup> The role of folk poetry in nation building was also essential in creating a Serbian history of myths, heroes, friends as well as traitors and enemies on the other side. Representations of the idea of necessary brotherhood between Serbs and Hungarians could have in the nineteenth century a very strong message of practical and moral interdependence. Moreover, in the post-revolutionary, neo-absolutist period it was obvious, that national goals of autonomy had not realised. Parallels and hidden messages against a common enemy ("Turks" or "Germans") had a big impact on the urban public.

The reason why the figure of Đurađ Branković was chosen to become the subject of a grandiose historical drama was the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his death. This occasion created a wider

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<sup>100</sup> Györe, Zoltán. 2006. Serbian Historiography and the Modern State. In *Public power in Europe : studies in historical transformations* edited by James S. Amelang, Siegfried Bee. Pisa: Pisa University Press: 89-107.

discourse on Branković and the Hungarian-Serbian relations in the Serbian milieu in Buda and Pest. In the prestigious scientific and literary magazine *Serbskij Letopis* (edited by Jovan Subotić) medieval sources were published about the life and work of the despot.<sup>101</sup> Later the Szentendre and Buda-Pest based writer Jakov Ignjatović published a novel about the life of Branković. It is important to mention that his perspective on the person is slightly different from Obernyik's narrative. Instead of showing a hesitating mind Ignjatović, in his work, underlined the sacrifice and heroism of the Serbian people in the battles against the Ottoman forces.<sup>102</sup> However, despite these remarkable differences, in these years Branković became a symbol of friendly Hungarian-Serbian relations.

The tragedy itself introduced George Brankovich<sup>103</sup> as a ruler, who is punished for his bad decision personally and politically, as well. In a critical situation, for diplomatic reasons he decides to take the side of the Turks although he knows and feels that he should stay in the Hungarian alliance. As an assurance for the new alliance, Sultan Murad demands Brankovich to send one of his sons to the Porte as a hostage. At this point the different personalities and mentalities of the two sons of the despot become visible. Gerő, the older son is an active supporter of the “Hungarian” agenda.<sup>104</sup> Moreover, the German-language newspaper “*Pester Lloyd*” in its review on the première of the piece describes him as a “Hungarian with heart and soul”.<sup>105</sup> István, the younger boy (played originally by the renowned actress Flóra Szigeti) has more a “peacekeeping” role in the piece. When the despot has to choose one of his two sons to become hostage, István wants to go instead of his older brother, but in the end they make the decision to go both.<sup>106</sup> The “immoral” decision by Brankovich to change sides is actively opposed by the Serbian people and finally sparks an uprising. Murád thinks that Brankovich broke his oath, therefore he has the two young hostages blinded.<sup>107</sup> He breaks into the Serbian capital, and seizes Mara, the daughter of Brankovics, who previously had fallen in love with Murád. Seeing the fate of their children, Brankovics vows vengeance but has to pay for his volte-face with his life in a battle against the Turks. The moribund Brankovics can for a last time greet the Hungarians, while the Serbian people are celebrating the victorious allied forces.<sup>108</sup> To sum up, the piece offers a very Hungarian-friendly story projected to the past. However, despite this particular point of view, the piece and the discourse around it played an important role in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century

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<sup>101</sup>Kovaček 1977, 147.

<sup>102</sup>Kovaček 1977, 148.

<sup>103</sup>In the description of the drama I use Serbian and Turkish names in their Hungarian transcription, as they appear in the piece.

<sup>104</sup>Obernyik 1878, 421-422.

<sup>105</sup>„(...)mit Leib und Seele Ungar” In: *Pester Lloyd*, 5. Juni 1856: 4.

<sup>106</sup>Obernyik 1878, 424.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid 436-439.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid 457.

Serbian national culture.

### 2.2.3 Performances of the Piece

The première and later performances of the piece were organised in the Hungarian National Theatre (Nemzeti Színház) in Pest. The building, inaugurated in 1837 on the road to Hatvan, was of course the most prestigious location of the Hungarian theatre scene a result of efforts of the Hungarian national movement to create a place in the heart of Hungary where theatre had been dominated by performances in German for Hungarian-language acting scene.<sup>109</sup> The performances in this institution were of course intensively followed by the Buda-Pest public.

As already mentioned there are three particular performances to analyse; the première in 1856, the very successful performance with the applause of the Serbian youth (1860) and finally, the one with Egressy's tragic death of on the stage in 1866. I tried to focus on the echo of these events in newspapers and magazines. Daily newspapers were usually writing three times about the piece. Practical information appeared for the first time on the day of the performance. Cast, admission fees and information on the National Theatre were published regularly. In this case the cast of the drama could appear really promising: besides the honorary actor Gábor Egressy, two young talents, Flóra Munkácsy and Miklós Feleky played the roles of István and Gerő. Another “celebrity”, who should be mentioned, was József Szigeti. He had already had successful performances and premières of his own pieces.<sup>110</sup>

The second type of articles comprises short reports on the performance issued few days after it. Here success becomes visible; the journalist of “Pesti Napló” reports on the huge audience laureating Egressy and on the hot weather as well.<sup>111</sup> Later, the magazines and newspapers offered reviews of the piece and its performances as well. Some articles are really harsh; the journalist of Pesti Napló writes that they are only delivering an article about the piece to commemorate

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<sup>109</sup>Schöpflin Aladár szerk. 1931 *Magyar Színművészeti Lexikon III. kötet*. Budapest: Országos Színészegyesület és Nyugdíjintézete: 344. [*Hungarian Theatre Encyclopaedia*]

<sup>110</sup>Sources: *Pesti Hírlap*, 1856 június 3.: 4.

Székely, György (szerk, 1994): *Magyar Színművészeti Lexikon*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Szigeti József [<http://mek.niif.hu/02100/02139/html/sz24/328.html>]

Feleky Miklós [<http://mek.niif.hu/02100/02139/html/sz07/151.html>]

Felekyné Munkácsy Flóra [<http://mek.niif.hu/02100/02139/html/sz15/522.html>]

Downloaded on 2014.5.31.

<sup>111</sup>Pesti Napló 1856. június 5: 2.

Obernýik.<sup>112</sup> However, other media, like the magazine *Hölgyfutár* or the German-language *Pester Lloyd* published a more positive opinion.<sup>113</sup> A specific type of reports included satirical descriptions of the event. The well-known Hungarian writer, liberal thinker and supporter of a Serbian-Hungarian reconciliation, Mór Jókai, under a pseudo-name Márton Kakas, wrote a review on the première.<sup>114</sup> Here the “Serbian” nature of the piece is visible. Jókai depicts a Serbian spectator sitting next to him in a benevolent but lightly contemptuous tone.

*(...) a brave yokel from Bačka was sitting next to me, who poked me in the ribs as a reaction to every sententious saw. Moreover as the piece told about the necessity of the friendship he even gave me a squeeze.*<sup>115</sup>



<sup>112</sup> Pesti Napló 1856 június 6: 2.

<sup>113</sup> Pester Lloyd 5. Juni 1856:2.  
*Hölgyfutár* 1856 június 4: 546.

<sup>114</sup> Kakas Márton 1856: *Brankovics György Írta: Obernýik* [<http://mek.oszk.hu/00700/00793/html/jokai42.htm>]

Downloaded on 2014.05.31.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

**Figure 2.2:** Gábor Egressy as György Brankovics in a typical historising costume of the era (*Marastoni, József: Egressy Gábor : Portré, körülötte négy szerepkép. - part of the picture. 1865. OSZK Színháztörténeti Tár*)

As it is visible from the earlier paragraph, several newspapers reported on the performances of “Brankovics György”. They analysed and criticised it as well according to the taste of the era, however, in many cases (including the necrologies after the death of Egressy) in the Hungarian-language press there were no specific comments on the Serbianness of the drama. Still, there are some really interesting exceptions to analyse. The best way to find a “Serbian” perception of the piece is to focus on the performance on the 16<sup>th</sup> of January 1860, when the “Serbian youth” of the city (including students of Tekelijanum) attended the play and showed their enthusiasm about the piece and Egressy's performance in it.<sup>116</sup> The young Serbian poet from Hungary, Laza Kostić handed over a poem entitled “*Gavrilu Egrešiju*” (To Gábor Egressy) to him.<sup>117</sup> In his poem he reflects on the *ars poetica* of the actor; he *revives* old Serbians by his arts. Although in the graveyard of the predecessors lies the old conflict, but one has to be careful not to wake it. The poem reflects obviously to the recent Serbian-Hungarian conflict. This reading is supported by the symbol of the cemetery (reflecting to some bloody, deadly memory) as well.

*In this ancient graveyard walking  
With thine spirit awakening  
Thou perhaps had met deep in there  
That feud of old, long smoldering*

*Should thou have also glimpsed him out there  
With thine face stern, thine heart troubled,  
I pray that thou shall never ever  
Raise him from the tomb long covered<sup>118</sup>*

Besides Laza Kostić's whole poem in an article, we can easily find other Serbian-related news in the newspaper called Magyar Sajtó (“Hungarian Press”). This newspaper with the subtitle “Bulletin of Politics, Economy and Arts” delivers in 1860, for instance, a summary of an article in the newspaper “Serbski dnevnik” on a Hungarian literary celebration from the perspective of the participating Serbian delegation. On the very same page it reports that the Hungarian National Casino

<sup>116</sup>Magyar Sajtó 1860 jan. 21: 59.

<sup>117</sup>Póth István (1958): Obernyik —Egressy: Brankovics György c. tragédiája a szerb színpadon. Filológiai Közöny 4 133—138.

<sup>118</sup>„Ezen régi temetőben/Keltő szellemeddel járva/Talán rátaláltál ottan/Ama régi, ős vizálya”  
„Hogy ha megtaláltad őt is/Komor arccal, dült kebellet/Kérlek, hogy ezt sírföldéből/Soha, soha ne ébreszd fel.”  
Translated into Hungarian by József Kiss.  
Translated into English by Anna Tömöry  
Source: Póth 1958: 134.

made a subscription for Serbian- and Romanian-language magazines.<sup>119</sup> This newspaper was owned by and representing the political agenda of János Török, an economist being in close contact with István Széchenyi. He, a member of the higher aristocracy played the most important role as a conservative reformer, a politician in the pre-1848 political era, which was characterised by ongoing national efforts to modernise the economy and to build a civil society. Magyar Sajtó saw itself as an heir to the conservative political agenda aiming the development of a civic society. And, as Török writes in the programme of Magyar Sajtó in 1855, the newspaper wanted to facilitate a common life for Hungarians and other peoples as based on “love and truth”.<sup>120</sup> So, the political programme of the newspaper was overlapping with the motives behind the Serbian-Hungarian reconciliation and the maintenance of friendly relations. It reported and at the same time catalysed the Serbian urban milieu in Buda-Pest.

The sub-chapter offered an overview of performances and their echo in the mostly Hungarian-language press. The press reception of the piece was at some places critical, while other magazines published more positive reviews. However, only few newspapers relate to the Serbian aspects. Still, these media reports offer a broader insight into the life of Serbians in Buda-Pest and also demonstrates how such articles, at the same time, facilitated that milieu. The tragedy itself was performed at the “highest altar of Thalia” in Hungary. That means in terms of cultural hybridity that one of the culturally most important institutions of Magyars “became” a piece of medieval Serbia. Although the settings of the performances were highly schematic, Buda-Pest Serbs accepted it. Due to the improvement of conditions on the Hungarian-language theatre scene the help of wealthy Serbs was not needed, unlike approximately fifty years before in the case of Balog's Karadorđe. Considering these points, Moritz Csáky's concept on “*cut surfaces*” (*Schnittstellen*) can be applied on particular phenomenon (phenomena). The “cut surface theatre” can be seen as an important part of “Serbian” Buda and Pest.

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<sup>119</sup> Magyar Sajtó 1860 január 21: 3.

<sup>120</sup> Szabolcsi Miklós (szerk.) (1985): A magyar sajtó története II/1. [<http://mek.oszk.hu/04700/04727/html/341.html>]  
Downloaded on 2014.05.25.



#### 2.2.4 Aftermath – The Drama as a Symbol

As Pál Rakodczay, the biographer of Gábor Egressy writes, no other Hungarian piece could gain more respect “abroad” than “Brankovics György”. “On the Serbian scene it became almost a national piece” - he wrote.<sup>121</sup> In fact, the piece had a long career, becoming a Serbian national symbol or – to be more precise – a symbol of Hungarian-Serbian good relations and “brotherhood”. The piece was – like the earlier mentioned drama on Karađorđe – translated to Serbian by Jovan Đorđević. It may be however surprising that it was for the very first time presented by the Zagreb National Theatre (*Zagrebačko Narodno Zemaljsko Kazalište*) in Belgrade in August of 1862, followed by a tour with stops in various towns on the Habsburg side of the border; in Veliki Bečkerek (today’s Zrenjanin), Pančevo and Zemun. Later on, the piece also became part of the repertoire of the Serbian National Theatre in Novi Sad. The drama had massive success and became one of the most popular national literary works of this time. It was also used in service of all-Serbian cultural policies; it was for instance performed in 1866 at the first gathering of the All-Serbian youth organisation “United Serbian Youth” (“*Ujedinjena omladina srpska*”)<sup>122</sup> Moreover, the first première of the Serbian National Theatre in Belgrade was Obernyik's piece as well.<sup>123</sup> The national intelligentsia of the Principality of Serbia found this piece and its ideas valuable and representative enough to show it in a highly representative context. However, after the Austrian-Hungarian *Ausgleich* (Compromise) as the possibility of Serbians having a territorial and legal autonomy vanished, symbolism of Hungarian-Serbian friendship vanished or was used in the opposite way. As relations were deteriorating the Hungarian Government did not authorise a decision of the Novi Sad magistrate to give a parcel to the Serbian theatre in the city for a new building. The theatre announced to play Károly Obernyik's Brankovich as a negative gesture. The public of the town in Bačka understood the message and stayed at home, so the piece was played for an (almost) empty house.<sup>124</sup> So in the next decades the piece disappeared from Serbian national narrative it did not become a modern “*lieu de mémoire*”. In Hungary in 1874 Ferenc Erkel, the most important composer of the time Hungary (the melody of the Hungarian anthem are composed by him) and Lehel Odry introduced a new opera titled “Brankovics György”. The libretto was of course based on Obernyik's piece.<sup>125</sup> In Hungary, this piece gained throughout the century more popularity, while the “original” tragedy on Branković already almost

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<sup>121</sup>Rakodczay Pál 1911. Egressy Gábor és kora II. Budapest: Singer-Wolfner: 35.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid: 136.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid: 137.

<sup>124</sup>Ibid: 150

<sup>125</sup>Baranyi Anna 2010. Újabb adatok Erkel Ferenc Brankovics György című operájának budapesti ősbemutatójáról. In *Létünk* 2010/4:35-48.

disappeared.

Having seen these examples for the usage it may be interesting to re-read the original drama and point out at the differences with the Serbian translation of Jovan Đorđević. These minor differences relate namely to differing perceptions of the Serbian and Hungarian nationalism on the historical figure Brankovich. Its translator Jovan Đorđević the former student of Tekelijanum and between 1857 and 1859 the editor of *Serbskij letopis*, and later on the author of the song *Bože Pravde* [*God of Justice*], used as the Serbian anthem. Besides these contributions he can be seen as an important personality closely related to the Serbian theatre development – being a founding member of the Serbian National Theatre and one of the most important translators of Serbian pieces in the era.<sup>126</sup> In his translation<sup>127</sup> one can see considerable differences to the original text. These nuances are facilitating a more dynamic performance, by erasing some parts, but other sections reveal some essential differences between the original and its Serbian perception. In the next section I would like to refer briefly on these differences, which are reflecting to the national identity.

The most striking nuance between the two versions can be related to the hierarchy of *Brankovich* and the Hungarian king. The original drama shows Brankovich practically as a Hungarian vasall, having a brotherly relationship to the Hungarians, but at the same time being the brother who needs to be protected. Moreover, in the original version of Obernyik Brankovich appears through the words of his clever and brave son, Gerő/Grgur as a member of the Hungarian nation.

“(...) but what do I say, Father you are not only despot of the Serb lands but, one of the big landowners of Hungary and we all belong to that nation.”<sup>128</sup>

This duality appears at many points also in symbolics and paroles. The battle cry in Hungarian “*Don’t hurt the Magyar!*”<sup>129</sup> is in the Serbian interpretation “*Take this for Kosovo!*”<sup>130</sup>. Many other such small differences can be observed while reading paralelly the two versions. These examples show how much differed the ideas presented in the Hungarian-language drama from the general “Serbian” discourse on Branković. These interpretations had of course a clear message on the political relation

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<sup>126</sup> „Јован Ђорђевић (књижевник).“. In *Народна енциклопедија*. Загреб: Библиографски завод. 1927.

<sup>127</sup> Obernyik, Károly-Jovan Đorđević 2005. *Ђурађ Бранковић: Историјска драма у 5 чинова* Београд: Музеј Позоришне уметности Србије.

<sup>128</sup> Obernyik 1878,

<sup>129</sup> Ibid, 407.

<sup>130</sup> Obernyik-Đorđević 2005, 7.

of the two groups. The options of having legally subsumed status (becoming a part of the Hungarian nation), or the claim for Serbian autonomy appear clearly in these events. However as we could see, it was rather a hidden ambiguity. However as after the Austro-Hungarian compromise these symbols appeared in a more conflictual situation between the Hungarian and the Serbian national movements.

## **2.3 Conclusion**

This subchapter offered an analysis related to the institutions and other elements of the public sphere related to the Serbian “Bildungsbürgertum”. This framework gives answers on sub-questions questions asked at the beginning. The piece of theatre George Brankovich gained its particular importance for the Serbian national movement in a constant and complex interaction between the public and the people involved in the creation and re-creation of the symbol Brankovich. The institutions of the Serbian Öffentlichkeit were playing hereby a key role. Institutions like the journal *Serbskij letopis* provided an important framework for these activities. The piece itself was presented in 1864 and it gained its importance for the Serbian movement, as the Serbian public in the National Theatre resonated positively to the it in 1860. The discourse around Brankovich is related to both Hungarian and Serbian national identities, however – as I was showing on the case of Đorđević’s translation – the nuances show considerable differences of the two national discourses.

### 3. “Besedas” in Pest between 1860 and 1867

This chapter aims to provide an understanding and analysis of selected events organised by the “Serbian university youth” studying in Pest. In order to do so, I will introduce their very environment in which a new generation of Serbian writers and poets was emerging in the early 1860s. Of all the institutions and places in the city one should highlight the student's college Tekelijanum, the most important non-ecclesiastic Serbian cultural centre in Buda-Pest. Having already introduced the Serbian *Bildungsbürgertum* of the twin cities, the first subchapter will be dealing with associations of Serbian students in Buda and Pest; their origins, activities and the Pest university milieu in general.

After this part, I will proceed to the very subject matter of the analysis; four so-called besedas between 1864 and 1867. Given their relatively big impact and the way they show certain aspects of the Serbian urban milieu these events are especially suitable to be analysed,. Concerning these events it is important to address three major analytical aspects. Members of Serbian youth invented the genre beseda and developed theories around it. I will analyse this discourse from the viewpoint of identity construction. Another important aspect of these besedas was the self-representation of the community, towards the broader, multicultural urban society and the networks of diaspora. The third aspects considers rising political stakes around 1866-1867. Thus it is important to analyse them as *events of political importance* as well.

### 3.1. University Youth in Pest

The researcher of Serbian cultural events in Buda and Pest is almost continuously confronted with the importance of the “Serbian university youth”. A concrete example and thus a link to this introductory part of the following case study is the organising committee of the besedas between 1864 and 1867 using the self-definition “Serbian youth studying in Pest and Buda”<sup>131</sup>. But those besedas were, of course, not the only cases, when students of Buda and Pest played a key role in the Serbian urban milieu. Here we can mention amateur pieces of theatre mentioned in the previous chapter but also Gábor Egressy's theatre performance, which received a really positive feedback from Serbian students. In sources reporting from these cases notions like *Serbian youth*, *Serbian students* appear repeatedly. The goal of the following short examination is to distinguish some important characteristics of these notions. In the introductory chapter I provided an overview of Serbian urban milieu elements where the importance of the university already appeared, Here I intend to focus more on those institutions, informal and formal groupings constituting this group.

In the Hungarian historical narrative, the term “parliamentary youth” or later “revolutionary youth” appears fairly often. These notions are used to describe the loosely organised group of students and other young intellectuals. In the 1830's and early 1840's the most important figures were gathering around the newspaper called “*Országgyűlési Tudósítások*” (Parliamentary Reports) by the leading liberal politician Lajos Kossuth. The paper aspired to inform the broader public on diets in Pressburg (Pozsony, Prešporok, Požun) from the point of view of the Hungarian national liberal movement. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of March 1848, many students of this network were participating in the activities seen as first steps of Hungarian national revolution. They issued a proclamation with political claims such as abolishing censorship, sovereign, constitutional government or the unity of Hungarian lands.<sup>132</sup> Only a few days after these successful revolutionary actions by Hungarian young intellectuals, the Serbian youth in Pest organised a political gathering on the 18<sup>th</sup> of March. This stage of political mobilisation attempted to gain collective political rights and national institutions within the newly established legal and administrative framework of the Hungarian Kingdom. The demonstration on the 18<sup>th</sup> of March expressed support for the Hungarian national movement, even some of its representatives (like Gábor

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<sup>131</sup> See: Улазница на Србску беседу што је даје србска омладина која се у Пешти и Будиму учи- U Pešti: Knjigopечатnja prve mađarske združbe Fanda & Comp. 1864. [Ticket for the Beseda Organised by the Serbian Youth Studying in Pest and Buda]

<sup>132</sup> Kovaček, Božidar 1988. “Az első pesti mozgalmak 1848 márciusában.” *Magyar Napló* 1998/6. sz: 38-39. [The first movements in Pest in March of 1848]

Klauzál) were present. However, soon after, relations between Serbian and Hungarian students drastically deteriorated as the "17 points" of Serbs were not fulfilled by the Hungarian government.<sup>133</sup> As Serbian-Hungarian relations became more hostile, most of the Serbian students left Buda-Pest and many of them joined the Serbian insurgency in Sremski Karlovci and Novi Sad.

### 3.1.1 Tekelijanum

It is important to note that in the formerly mentioned case of 1848 as well as in the case of the *besedas*, the most important location of Serbian cultural and/or political movement in Buda and Pest was the building of *Tekelijanum* (*Tökölyanum* in Hungarian), situated under no. 23. of *Zöldfa utca* (*Grünbaumgasse*) in the Southern part of Pest, only a few meters away from the Serbian church "St. George".<sup>134</sup> This institution was established in 1838 and acquired the name of the "*Serbian Panteon*". Although this name does not match exactly the usages of the notion in other countries (in France for instance) it still reflects its extraordinary importance in the Serbian movement. Serbian and Hungarian scholars were and are aware of this importance, two monographies on this institution were published ; Božidar Kovaček, in his Serbian-language book, provides a selection of histories related to the cultural and political life in and around Tekelijanum.<sup>135</sup> Gábor Visy's Hungarian language work offers an overview of the institution's history and a selection of documents related to Tekelijanum.<sup>136</sup> Using these two works I would like to set Tekelijanum in a context of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Buda-Pest and its Serbian university youth.

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<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> The address is identical with today's Veres Pálné utca 17.

<sup>135</sup> Kovaček 1997.

<sup>136</sup> Visy, Gábor. 1996. *A pesti Tökölyánium*. Budapest: JPTE TK Kiadói Irodája. [*Tekelijanum in Pest*]



**Figure 3.1: The building of Tekelijanum.** Source: Wikimedia Commons. Downloaded on 2015.04.18.

The institution was founded in 1838 by Sava Tekelija, whose name it uses until today. In his testament the founder<sup>137</sup> established two funds; the so-called “smaller” foundation was designed to finance scholarships for students, while he also founded Tekelijanum. This institution was established in the framework of Matica srpska. Tekelija wanted to create a Serbian cultural centre of Pest to house as much of activities as possible in a single building.<sup>138</sup> As a primary function he defined the capacity to support and provide accommodation to 12 Serbian students. These young Serbs were working under a supervisor, who occupied three rooms in the building. A library was established as well.<sup>139</sup> Besides this rooms, a celebration room was inaugurated, which was used for “smaller” or intern celebrations, such as memorial or *parastos* evenings. Furthermore the institution served as a seat for Matica srpska, and later on, for some newspapers and magazines (such as *Zmaj* and *Zastava*) as well. In conclusion, Tekelijanum can be seen as the most important Serbian place of Pest, which was not directly related to the Orthodox Church. So (privileged) Serbian students had the opportunity to live together and take part in various activities. At this point the role of the supervisor (*nadzornik*) should be emphasised, who had an instrumental role in coordinating student activities. From 1863, this position was held by the former young medical student and writer Jovan Jovanović, who played an

<sup>137</sup> For his biography see previous chapter.

<sup>138</sup> Tökölly, Sabbas, and Tódor Pavlovics. 1858. “Tökölly Sebbásnak Alapító Levele.” In *Hazánk. VII. Művelődési s jótékonyossági országos intézetek. A Tökölly-intézet és a Matica Srbska* edited by János Török: 648-652. [Foundation Letter by Sava Tekelija]

<sup>139</sup> The collection can be seen and researched in Novi Sad in the “Rarities reading room” (Čitaonica rariteta) of the Matica Srpska Library.

essential role in Serbian cultural life as Matica srpska left the city (1864) and thus the college Tekelijanum had to reorganise itself.<sup>140</sup>

But who exactly were the students of Tekelijanum? What did they study in Buda and Pest? Where did they come from? Relevant information was of course provided in diverse documents of the institution. For instance the magazine *Srbskij letopis* in 1858 provided a list of all current and former students of the organisation.<sup>141</sup> In this list we can find names from all over the Hungarian Kingdom. Moreover students from beyond the borders of Hungary in the narrow sense, from Croatia, Slavonia and the military border regions were attending the institution as well. We can also find students coming from the Serbian principality. The list contains not only university students (studying law, medicine, theology or philology) but high school (Gymnasium) pupils as well. For instance in 1858, a year when the yearly limit of new students was raised to eighteen, five students had their origins in the Banat region, three from Bačka (Bácska, Batschka) another three from Srem (Srijem, Szerémség, Sirmien). Three other pupils came from Slavonia and one from a diaspora urban community in Esztergom (Ostrogom, Gran) while two students arrived from the Serbian Principality.<sup>142</sup> The following map visualises the origins of all students of the first twenty years.

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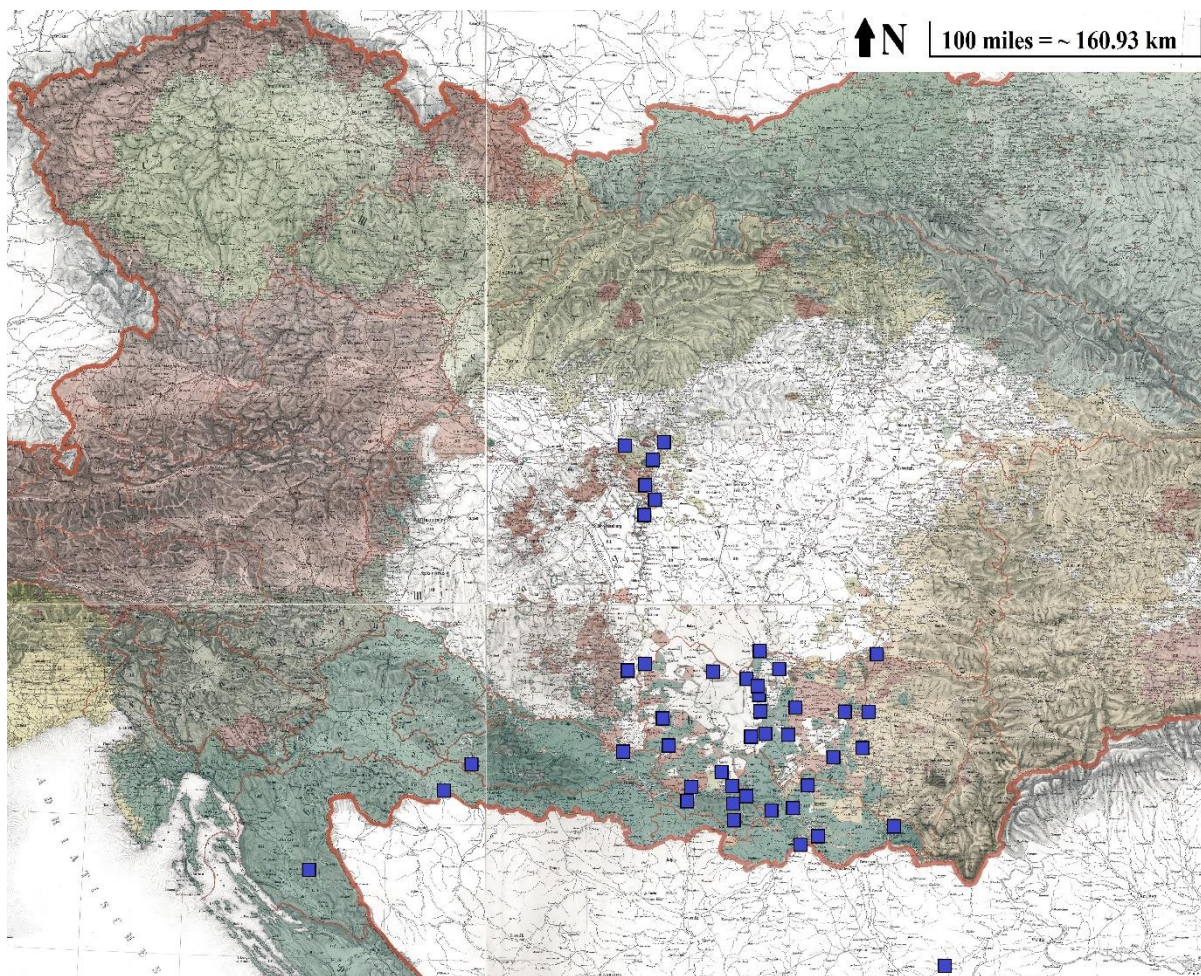
<sup>140</sup> Jovanovics. In. Bokor József (szerk.) 1893. A Pallas nagy lexikona.

[<http://www.mek.iif.hu/porta/szint/egyeb/lexikon/pallas/html/053/pc005368.html#9>] Downloaded on 2015.4.26.

<sup>141</sup> Путотци Саве Текелије. In. *Србскиј летопис 1858*. 98. св.: 123-132. [*The Students of Sava Tekelija*]

<sup>142</sup> The geographical name Ledinac cannot be identified surely. However it may be related to a village next to Grude in Herzegovina.





**Figure 3.2: Origins of students of Tekeljanum 1838-1858.** Source: Путомци Саве Текелије. In: *Србскиј летопис 1858*. 98. св.: 123-132. [*The Students of Sava Tekelija*] Based on the map: Czoernig, Karl Freiherr von 1855: *Ethnographische Karte der Oesterreichischen Monarchie*. Wikimedia Commons.

It is obvious that Tekeljanum was inhabited by students coming from different parts of the Serbian-inhabited areas in the Banat, Bačka and Syrmium and from the military borders. At the same time, cities and villages of the diaspora (Esztergom, Vác, Szigetcsép etc.) were represented as well. As a conclusion, we can say that in accordance with the principles of its founder, Tekeljanum offered less wealthy Serbian students an opportunity to live and study together and get involved in various cultural activities besides their professional progress in their respective fields.

### 3.1.2 Organising and Linking Youth Activities – Preodnica and United Serbian Youth

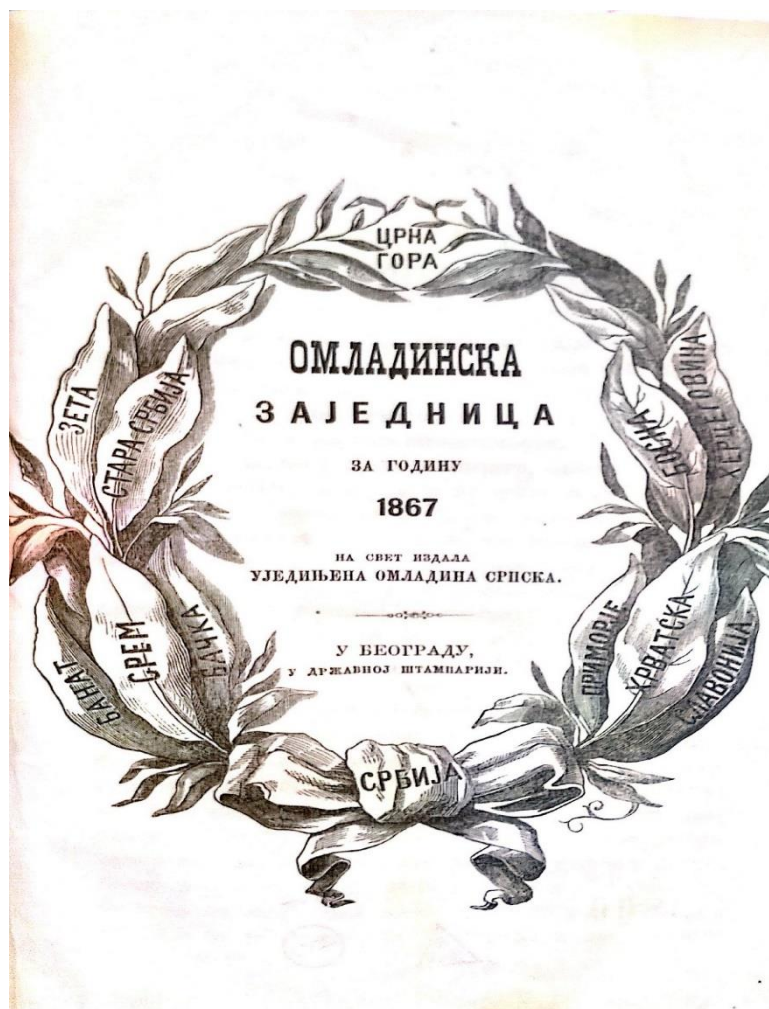
These cultural activities of students were intensively developing from around 1860 after a less

active period of the 1850's. I already indicated earlier some milestones of the cultural life of university youth, at this point I would like to point out the literary manifestations of young Serbian intellectuals in the framework of the literary society, "Preodnica". This society of students was founded in 1861 in the Tekelijanum. The students involved in this association organised smaller literary evenings and published their work in different newspapers and magazines – such as *Danica*, *Zastava*, and later on *Matica*. However, they did not have an official organ in the analysed period. As a representation of the group's activities in 1863 a selection of literary works was published in Pest featuring the works of Laza Kostić, Kosta Ruvarac, Mito Popović and others.<sup>143</sup> The whole income from the publication went to support the Serbian National Theatre in Novi Sad. There are many open questions concerning the history, the actual structure and activities of Preodnica. However, in their documented practices, we can clearly distinguish some organisational motives (supporting the National Theatre) and symbolic which appeared at the besedas as well. Their events, however, were of smaller scale, mostly organised in the building of Tekelijanum. These celebrations had no publicity (press coverage) comparable to those of the besedas, and were meant rather as intern events of the community.

Of course, the society Preodnica's views got expressed in some of the works the members published in different newspapers and magazines. The besedas – as this chapter will show – had a political importance as well. However, Novi Sad rather than Buda-Pest served as an urban centre of political involvement. This city – and the closely situated religious centre, Sremski Karlovci – came, already in the 1860's, to be an important place of activities of the liberal politician, Svetozar Miletić whose political strategy attempted to find contacts with the Hungarian liberals. And that was the same city where in 1866 on the 27<sup>th</sup> of August the United Serbian Youth (*Ujedinjena omladina srpska*) was founded. This umbrella organisation of sixteen diverse youth associations was founded on the initiative of the Viennese Serbian society *Zora* (*Dawn*). The above mentioned Preodnica participated in the activities as well. The idea of "Omladina" was to establish a literary organisation of Serbian youth associations of Serbian lands and the diaspora and thus demonstrate that Serbian youth of all those regions (diaspora, Banat, Bačka, Syrmium, Serbian Principality, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slavonia and the Seaside) are parts of a single *literary community*. This "unity" is visualised on the cover of the associations official magazine *Omladinska zajednica* (*Youth Community*) as well. The most crucial link binding the allegoric wreath consisting of these areas is Serbia (the Principality) connecting them.

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<sup>143</sup> *Преодница 1863. Издала српска омладина у Пешти*. Будим: Тиск кр. Универзитета пештанског. [*Vanguard. Published by Serbian Youth in Pest*]



**Figure 3.3: Cover of the 1867 yearbook *Omladinska zajednica* (Youth Community) of Serbian United Youth.** *Омладинска заједница за годину 1867. Београд: Ујединјена омладина српска. [Youth Community for the year 1867]*

A multitude of scholarly works on Serbian United Youth was published. Authors usually underline that the ambitions of this organisation went far beyond cultural goals. The historian Halm Sundhaussen calls the association the first all-Serbian organisation uniting liberals on both sides of the border and in the diaspora. They were allegedly fighting for the same political goals but in completely different political and social contexts. The all-Serbian and liberal nature can relate Omladina to groupings like the German *Burschenschaften* or Mazzinis "Young Italy". It is however disputed whether this association was supposed to appear as an individual actor (a political party) at all in all-Serbian politics until its dissolution in 1871.<sup>144</sup> Another characteristic feature is highlighted

<sup>144</sup> Sundhaussen, Holm. 2007. *Geschichte Serbiens: 19.-21. Jahrhundert*. Wien: Böhlau Verlag: 131. [*History of Serbia: 19-21<sup>st</sup> Centuries*]



by Tatjana Marković is being a case of networking, establishing secondary communication networks.<sup>145</sup> The author underlines hereby the importance of telegrams congratulating the Omladina as an example for establishing Serbian communication networks from Berlin to Zadar.<sup>146</sup> In the case study I will use this approach as well to reveal the networks created and maintained by the Serbian youth in Pest.

The Serbian historical narrative usually defines Ujedinjena omladina srpska as the most important all-Serbian cultural current in the 1860's and 1870's. This era is often called by historian and literary scholars as "*omladinsko doba*", "youth era". This notion marks an era in Serbian history when a new generation of writers residing in the Serbian Principality, the Kingdom of Hungary or the diaspora organised itself and created communication networks across borders. Serbian literary criticist Jovan Skerlić published in 1925 his book, in which he delivers a description and analysis of the era between 1848 and 1871 (including the history of societies, political history and biographies of single writers.)<sup>147</sup> Relating to this tradition, we can define the "Youth Era" in Serbian historiography as a period when Serbian writers started to organise themselves again across borders. Their activities (despite being "officially" cultural associations) were closely linked to the all-Serbian political movement.

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<sup>145</sup> Marković, Tatjana 2003. *Political, Cultural, Artistic Activities of the Ujedinjena Omladina Srpska as a Case of Networking*. Presented on the conference "Netz, Kultur, Wissenschaft", Budapest. 11. December 2003. [[http://www.academia.edu/2764602/Political\\_cultural\\_artistic\\_activities\\_of\\_the\\_Ujedinjena\\_omladina\\_srpska\\_as\\_a\\_case\\_of\\_networking](http://www.academia.edu/2764602/Political_cultural_artistic_activities_of_the_Ujedinjena_omladina_srpska_as_a_case_of_networking)]. Accessed on 2015.4.26.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.* 4.

<sup>147</sup> Skerlić, Jovan. 1925. *Омладина и њена књижевност*. Београд: Ср. Кралјевска Академија. [*Youth and its Literature*]

### 3.2 Besedas in Pest

This subchapter is dedicated to the analysis of four Serbian *besedas* (cultural events consisting of various performances, dances and songs) which took place between 1864 and 1867 in the shooting range of Pest. The following pages attempt to give an overview of the genre including its etymology and the multiple usages of the very expression. In order to understand the importance and significance of these events, it is essential to take a look at the symbolism of their venue as well. The further part of the analysis will focus on the course of the events, the literary and musical performances, the organizers, participants and the goals supported from the entrance fees paid by visitors. By analysing these aspects one must rely on diverse, mostly journalistic sources, which of course cannot offer an unbiased insight. However, newspaper and magazine reports in Hungarian and Serbian and other languages reflect on important aspects; on their social context and prestige as well as the *way* the pieces of the evening were performed.

#### 3.2.1. Etymology

In order to get an appropriate approach to the events, one should start the analysis by defining the very genre: what does *beseda* mean in that context, what kind of overlapping of meanings can be observed in Serbian (and other Slavic languages as well). The public discourse in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was aware of the Slavic nature of the expression, but somehow confused about the very origins and appropriate usage of it. Laza Kostić, one of the most influential theoreticians of *beseda* was not sure about this question either. “*It seems to me that beseda is of Czech origin*” - he wrote in 1865.<sup>148</sup> One of the organisers, Đorđe Zvekić was also relating it to Czech forms of entertainment, which were adapted to the context of the cities with considerable Serbian communities.<sup>149</sup> The all-Slavic nature of *beseda* was many times represented in the programme by showing Czech or other Slavic pieces.<sup>150</sup>

According to works on etymology the expression *beseda* has an old Slavic origin (*besjeda*). Its most frequent meaning is related to the English verb *speak* or the noun *speech*. A literary dictionary by Miloš Stambolić from 1985 relates the expression to the antique Greek and Roman rhetoric

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<sup>148</sup> Kostić, Laza 1865. Одговор на мњење о Костићевој бесеби. 1865. In *Матица*. 10. октобра 1865: 9.

<sup>149</sup> Zvekić, Đorđe 1867. Србске беседе (Из Преоднице) In *Застава* 10. Јануара 1867. [Serbian *besedas*]

<sup>150</sup> The Slovak-language *Pešťbudínske Vedomosti* writes for instance concerning the *beseda* of January 1866: “*These besedas are important not only for the Serbian nation, but for all Slavs living here in large numbers.*” *Pešťbudínske vedomosti*. Utorok, 30. januára 1866. Príloha

tradition (as *oratio*) and to the Slavonic reception of Byzantine literature as well (as *homilium* or *dialogue*)<sup>151</sup>. A dictionary of Serbo-Croatian Literary and Popular Language from 1959 mentions also the meaning of an entertaining event with a concert and dance part, usually organised for a good cause.<sup>152</sup> The expression appears in other Slavic languages, so it does in Czech. For instance, Ján Otto's dictionary in 1890 mentions it as „popular amusement with dances, music and declamations”.<sup>153</sup> In summary, it seems that *beseda* was in course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century an expression, with a broad spectre of meanings. Besides various connotations it designated cultural events in Serbian and other Slavic languages as well. The broader Slavic context of *beseda* could be an interesting subject of research, but the length and the focus of this thesis does not allow a deeper immersion into the topic. However, from the above cited examples it is visible that *beseda* can be related to the spoken, performed tradition. In the concrete case, it relates to the Slavic nature of the evenings as well.<sup>154</sup>

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151 Živković, Dragiša gl. ur. 1985. *Речник књижевних термина*. Институт за књижевност и уметност у Београду. 73. [Dictionary of Literary Expressions]

152 Pešikan, Mitar gl. ur. 1959. *Речник српскохрватског књижевног и народног језика*. Књига II. Београд: Институт за српскохрватски језик. 483 [Dictionary of Serbocroatian Literary and Popular Language]

153 Otto, Jan 1890 *Ottův slovník naučný. Svazek 3*. Praha : J. Otto: 883-884. [Otto's Scientific Dictionary]

154 It is interesting to note that Hungarian press products were relating to these soirées as "beszedák". The strange sounding word *beseda* was defined as. "dance evening connected with a concert" (*hangversenynyel összekötött táncestély*; *Magyar Világ* 1866 január 27.). Later on the same Hungarian expression was used for representative events organised by the Serbian youth of Buda and Pest. See for instance: *Újdonságok* In: *A Hon* 1867. január 20.

### 3.2.2 Location, organisation and programme of the besedas

The plan of the Serbian university youth to organise a beseda for the wider audience<sup>155</sup> in Pest was first expressed on the 24<sup>th</sup> of October 1864, at a memorial evening (*parastos*) dedicated to the founder of the institute, Sava Tekelija. On this occasion the participants decided to organise a cultural evening and to use the income earned there to support either the cause of the Serbian National Theatre in Novi Sad or the erection of a monument of the recently deceased writer Vuk Stefanović Karadžić.<sup>156</sup> Later on they decided for the latter cause. The event was scheduled for the 26<sup>th</sup> (14<sup>th</sup>) November and announced in newspapers and magazines. An invitation to this evening was printed as well.



**Figure 3.4: Invitation for the beseda in November 1864.** *Улазница на Србску беседу што је даје србска омладина која се у Пешти и Будиму учи*- U Pešti : Knjigopečatnja prve mađarske združbe Fanda & Comp., 1864. [Ticket for the Serbian beseda given by the Serbian youth studying in Pest and Buda] Source: Biblioteka Matice srpske, Novi Sad. AS I 44

<sup>155</sup> Some besedas were held already as early as in 1861. These ones could be rather seen as smaller intra-community performances. Kovaček 2000. 50.

<sup>156</sup> Даница 1864/44 (1.нобембра): 714.

The beseda was organised in the shooting range of Pest, a prestigious sports and cultural institution near the city park (*Városliget*).<sup>157</sup> Originally, this institution served as a place of training for the *Bürger*, to acquire the necessary defence skills. In the course of 19<sup>th</sup> century it was more and more used for leisure and social events of the (higher) *bourgeoisie*. The very building of the besedas based on the plans of Mátyás Zitterbarth was finished in 1840. Its design was inspired by the shooting range built by József Hild and destroyed by the disastrous flood 1838 next to today's *Kálvin tér*.<sup>158</sup> It is obvious that the location did not have a specific “Serbian” character, moreover it can be seen as a place, where different vocational, political, national and artistic communities could represent their traditions with related activities. To these events *notabilities* (*Hung. Notabilitások*), influential personalities of the political, social and economic elite were quite often invited. Besedas can be seen as part of this tradition.



**Figure 3.5: The Shooting Range of Pest.** Alt, Rudolf 1845: *Die bürgerliche Schiessstätte in Pesth*. In: *Ofen und Pesth*. Pest: Hartleben: 44. Source: FSZEK Budapest Archives.

The programme of a beseda consisted of two major parts. The first half contained songs, music pieces, popular lectures. These pieces were performed by professionals but also by amateurs, women and men, sometimes by children. After this rather “frontal” part the rest of the evening was dedicated to dancing and singing together. As mentioned previously, the evening was characterised by a multitude of artistic genres and pieces of Serbian, Hungarian and other Slavic (Czech, Polish etc.)

<sup>157</sup> *Polgári lövölde* in Hungarian, *bürgerliche Schießstätte* in German and *strelište* in Serbian.

<sup>158</sup> “*Lövölde*” In Tóth, Endréné. 1981. *Budapest Enciklopédia*. Budapest: Corvina: 208.



origin. Besides the cultural activities, a dinner and drinks were served as well. According to reports the beseda finished around 5 in the morning.<sup>159</sup> The beseda had a considerable success, newspapers and magazines reported positively about the evening, which was visited by many members of the Serbian, Hungarian, Romanian and Slavic elite. So the organising students decided to establish a tradition of Serbian besedas in Buda-Pest. These events were organised by a committee of Serbian students in the building of Tekelijanum. In that institution it was possible to buy tickets at a fixed price, however higher contributions were more than welcome.<sup>160</sup> Until the Austro-Hungarian compromise three more besedas took place, all of them in the ball season in January or February. In 1866 and 1867 they were organised only 1-2 days before the day of Saint Sava (14/26 of January), an important holiday of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Otherwise, the program of the second, third and fourth beseda followed the design of the 1864 event.<sup>161</sup> The further part of this chapter will analyse certain specific aspects of these four besedas.

The most important sources to rely on are definitely the press products reporting from the besedas from diverse perspectives. This research is mostly based on Serbian and Hungarian-language political, and general newspapers and cultural magazines as well. Generally speaking two types of articles dealing with besedas were published; shorter news announcing the date and the schedule of the beseda, inviting people to participate and calling them to support the respective good cause of the evening. Reports represent another type of articles dealing with besedas. That type of press coverage has a greater length and is expressing more personal opinions and impressions on the besedas. Reports were often sent in the form of reader's letters. Non-journalistic genres deliver important information on besedas as well. Of particular interest are works of Serbian writers like Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Laza Kostić and Đorđe Zvekić. These writings often theorise beseda as a genre and its esthetical qualities. These types of works attempt to connect besedas to the tradition of Serbian historical narrative and define them in light of the present situation of the Serbian nation.

In order to understand, to which extent these events are visible for the wider 19<sup>th</sup> century society (and the researcher of the field), it is important to take a short look at the situation of the press in the Hungarian Kingdom and in Buda-Pest in particular. In 1866, the Serbian literary weekly *Danica* from Novi Sad collected all Serbian (and some Croatian) periodicals. This document listed 32 different periodical publications, out of which only two were at that time issued in Pest. *Zmaj (Dragon)*

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<sup>159</sup> *Fővárosi Lapok* 1864 november 29: 1741

<sup>160</sup> *A Hon* 1867 január 20. Ujdonságok.

<sup>161</sup> The appendix n° 1. provides an overview of the available data on the four besedas concerned.

was a satirical magazine by Jovan Jovanović. "Zmaj" reflected rather on developments of Serbian politics.<sup>162</sup> Its format can be related to satirical magazines of the era (specially to Mór Jókai's *Üstökös*); it contained caricatures, short anecdotes and jokes, but also some "serious" belletrist contributions. Thus it published the whole text of a lecture on Serbian popular songs, which was delivered at the first beseda.<sup>163</sup> *Zastava (Banner)* was a political newspaper founded in 1866 at time of the Hungarian national assembly 1865-1869 by Serbian liberal politician and member of parliament Svetozar Miletić. While concentrating on the political agenda in Pest and elsewhere in the Empire as a generalist newspaper it featured also short news and reports on cultural happenings. What is more, it contained a section called "*Podlistak Zastavin*" ("*Zastava's Review*") with literary contributions including those of the Pest youth literary society *Preodnica* ("*Vanguard*"). In sum, we can say, that the two Serbian periodicals in Buda-Pest at that time provided the most detailed and most insider coverage on besedas. However, one could read about the besedas not only in the Buda-Pest Serbian media, but also in the cultural magazines based in Novi Sad. That time, in this city several Serbian-language press products were published including the general newspaper *Srbski dnevnik (Serbian Journal)*. Since 1864, *Srbskij letopis* the most important magazine in sciences and arts was also issued in Novi Sad. As for the perception of besedas however, the most important publication to name is the Novi Sad-based weekly literary magazine *Danica (Evening star)*, founded in 1860 by Đorđe Popović. As Nataša Marjanović shows in her article *Danica* put a special emphasis on the presentation of cultural and musical events of the Serbian communities in the Habsburg Empire and beyond.<sup>164</sup> Another priority of the publication was to show and link the activities of Serbian youth groups all over in the diaspora thus promoting their important cultural and political engagements.

However, not only Serbian-language media featured news and reports on Buda-Pest besedas. Hungarian and other language newspapers and magazines did so as well. The most important ones among them were those, which were related to the Hungarian liberal national movement; among the dailies the newspapers *Magyar Sajtó [Hungarian Press]* of János Török, *A Hon [The Fatherland]* of Mór Jókai and the literary daily *Fővárosi Lapok [Capital's Daily]* are to be brought up. These reported from the besedas in shorter articles. A Slovak general newspaper issued in Pest, *Pešťbudímske Vedomosti (Pest-Buda News)* reported from the besedas as well.<sup>165</sup> To sum up, multiple sources and

<sup>162</sup> Србско-хрватска журналистика 1866. године. In: Даница 1866/10 (10. априлија): 236 [Serbo-Croatian Journalism in 1866.]

<sup>163</sup> Jovanović Zmaj Jovan 1865: Србске народне песме: читано на беседи у Пешти. 14. Нов. 1864 In: *Змај 1865/3*: 50. [Serbian Folk Songs: lecture on the beseda in Pest on the 14. Nov. 1864]

<sup>164</sup> Marjanović, Nataša. 2013. "On Music and Art in the Journal *Danica* (1860-1872)." In: *Muzikologija*, no. 14: 57–76.

<sup>165</sup> *Pešťbudímske Vedomosti. Utorok, 30. januára 1866*: Príloha

genres provide a complex image of the *beseda*. In the following part I will interpret different viewpoints according to the aspects of *identity*, *self-representation* and *politics*.

### 3.2.3 Performing, experiencing and maintaining the identity

#### 3.2.3.1 Beseda as an idea

Laza Kostić published in the volume n° 109 of *Serbskij Letopis* his poem (or to be more precise, a collection of poems) under the name *Beseda*.<sup>166</sup> He defined its genre as an „allegorical drama without dialogues”. The poem leads the reader through important events of Serbian history, around the battle of Kosovo. The lyrical subject presents itself as “*beseda*”, a female spirit, which tells the history and myths concerning the most important events of the Serbian *narod* (nation or people) to her public from *Buda to Solon*.<sup>167</sup> According to Kostić's poem this tradition can and should be told and passed down among the members of the Serbian community, including the diaspora. The analysed cultural events in Pest could be seen as a manifestation of this idea. Two years later, Đorđe Zvekić, an organiser of multiple *besedas* and member of the literary society “Preodnica” published an article entitled “Serbian *besedas*” in three editions of the general political newspaper *Zastava*. These writings provide a general overview on the discourse around the *besedas*. The attempt of this part of the thesis is to analyse *besedas* as events to experience and perform identity both involving theoretical-ideological works and analysing the schedules of the events.

The above mentioned discourse on *besedas* attempted to place these events into the general historical narrative of the Serbian nation. According to these works, *beseda* represents the continuity of historical traditions of the Serbian *Narod* under specific circumstances. Laza Kostić's poem “*Beseda*” evokes important historical figures and milestones from the “Glory” (*Slava*) of the Serbian nation under Czar Dušan until the tragedy of Kosovo. Remarkable is here that different segments of this “allegoric drama without dialogues” are having different forms, rhythms, genres and structures. Thereby the poem reflects on the heterogeneous nature of the cultural evenings as well. In the Introduction the personified creature *beseda* presents itself and brings a gift to the addressed “Serbian girl”. This „gift” consists of songs and dances, which have to be performed again and again.

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<sup>166</sup> It is the magazine's first volume printed in Novi Sad and the first one in Karadžić' linguistic standard; Hadić, A (ur.) 1865: *Србски летопис. Књига 109*. Матица српска: Нови Сад: 143-158.

<sup>167</sup> Kostić Laza 1864: *Беседа*. In: *Србски летопис за годину 1864-књига 109*: 144.

“Solon” refers most probably to Solun (Salonika; today's Thessaloniki). Unfortunately in the collective works of Kostić appears “Salon”, which expression does not help to answer this question. Concerning the context however it seems to be clear that the poet refers to the Serbian nation as a whole (including places of diaspora).

<i>Истина је , ово треба</i>	<i>Truth is, it has to be</i>
<i>Госпођица каква лепа</i>	<i>- You beautiful young lady -</i>
<i>Да вам каже, да бам тена ,</i>	<i>To be said, to be babbled,</i>
<i>Да вам слатко декламује (...)<sup>168</sup></i>	<i>To be sweetly declamated to you (...)</i>

Kostić was not only inspired by *besedas*, he contributed to these events as well. At the 1865 celebration in Pest he performed his poem.<sup>169</sup> The same volume of *Serbskij letopis* published a review of the poem by Antonije Hadžić and Giša Geršić. The reviewers criticised the whole concept of the poem by pointing out the unclear concept of (personified) *beseda*.<sup>170</sup> Kostić answered them by providing a wider context of the idea of “*beseda*”. The author expressed his support for the *besedas* (and their organisers), which could considerably contribute to the maintenance of Serbian identity in a rather decadent era of “Austrian Serbs”. Therefore *beseda* could be seen as more than another cultural event, it represents an important idea which is ideal to be personified.<sup>171</sup> Kostić was enthusiastic about these events because of their noble goal, more precisely about supporting the National Theatre, an institution which he uses as a closing motive of the poem.

The second publication to analyse, Đorđe Zvekić's article “Serbian *besedas*” is describing the genre *beseda* from many aspects.<sup>172</sup> It is a quite eclectic text which starts with a contribution to the history and traditions of the events. Then Zvekić delivers a manual on the organisation of a *beseda*. The rest of the article changes its vantage point again and describes the *beseda* from the visitor's perspective. In the first part, Zvekić emphasises the *Serbian* nature of the *beseda*. In the historical narrative delivered by the author *beseda* represents an organic continuation of the institutions of the Serbian nation. According to the author *skupštinas* and *sabors* (political assemblies and religious gatherings) were, in the Middle Ages, the most important institutions of the Serbian nation. However, after “betrayers” let the Serbian state fall, it was only religious institutions that served to defend “Serbian freedom”. So the *sabor* gained additional importance. At these gatherings members of the nation could meet, and recall “Serbian heroism” and “liberty” while listening to the sound of the Serbian instrument *gusla*. In modern times conditions changed, and great contributions to the Serbian

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<sup>168</sup> Kostić 1864: 144.

<sup>169</sup> *A Hon*, 1865. február 19.

<sup>170</sup> Antonije Hadžić-Giša Geršić 1865: Мњење о Костићевој “Беседи”. In: *Србски летопис 1864. књига 109*: 159-160. [*Opinion on Kostić's "Beseda"*]

<sup>171</sup> Kostić 1864: 158

<sup>172</sup> Published in three volumes of *Zastava* between 10. and 18. of January.

culture were made by great Serbian personalities. J. Rajić told the Serbians who they were, Dositije Obradović was teaching them, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić told them about “Serbian greatness”. According to Zvekić, it is important to be aware of these contributions and keep them in a foreign urban milieu as well.<sup>173</sup> At this point the author goes on to write about the profound differences between a ball and a beseda. He devotes a longer section to the description of balls, where he states (among others):

*And it is not necessary to tell you what happens at balls; each of us knows well that one loses there often in various perverted games health and sometimes also - honesty.*<sup>174</sup>

Balls appear as events of cultural and moral oppression, as something profoundly strange and foreign to the Serbian nation. According to Zvekić it is important to defend Serbs from this kind of entertainment and prefer cultural forms which correspond to the “pure *national character*” of Serbs. Beseda, a form of entertainment of the “Czech *brothers*” seemed to be appropriate to fulfil these needs.<sup>175</sup>

*(...) erect walls against the foreign and go to the altar of national culture and progress.*<sup>176</sup>

This sentence is maybe the clearest statement of Zvekić's cultural purism. This attitude is mostly directed against the German-language urban culture.<sup>177</sup> According to the author besedas give the possibility to react to the balls, oppose the German *Kulturträgerschaft* (civilisatory role) by presenting performances of Serbian culture to the wider public. With a somehow surprising logical turn he argues at the same time for the inclusion of some foreign or popular pieces in the schedule as well in order to make reception easier for the guests, who are not part of the community.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> Zvekić, Đorđe 1867a: Србске беседе. In: *Застава* 19. јануара 1867.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>177</sup> By the description of balls, Zvekić uses a plenty of German words integrated to the Serbian-language in negative connotation text such as *Еробрунге* (Eroberunge(n) – immoral conquest of a lady,) *Културтрегеришафт* (Kulturträgerschaft – carrier of the culture, in that sense cultural domination) etc.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*

### 3.2.3.2 Serbian Identity in the Programme

An overview of the programmes of the above mentioned cultural evenings can show some patterns the besedas followed.<sup>179</sup> The sheet below contains the classification of the three besedas, where a quantitative overview of the schedules was possible. The characterisation of the pieces is based on the nationality of the author and/or the language of the piece. The category “Slavic” contains representations of Slavic national art other than “Serbian” (or not specified). I used the notion “International pieces” which – in my opinion – were reflecting to the general international trends or fashion, rather than to a national identity or a national narrative.

	November 14/26 1864	February 10/22 1865	January 13/26 1867
“Serbian” pieces	8	5	4
“Slavic” pieces	2	1	2
“Hungarian” pieces	1	2	2
“International” pieces	2	2	3

#### Overview of the schedule of besedas – Based on Appendix n° 1.

The first, “frontal” part of the evening always started with a Serbian song performed by the choir. Another song marked the end of the performance and the beginning of the “ball” part of dances and songs. Within this framework, certainly, the majority of the pieces performed could be related to the Serbian culture – and were performed in Serbian. Eight pieces in 1864, seven in 1865 and four performances of the 1867 beseda can be characterised as Serbian art pieces. Here we should underline the importance of *folk (popular) culture* at these besedas.

The beseda of 1864 was organised shortly after the death of the Vienna-based Serbian writer Vuk Stefanović Karadžić. The income of the evening was supposed to finance the erection of his memorial. Vuk is (and was at that time) known mainly for two reasons in and beyond Serbian communities. Beside successfully reforming and standardising the Serbian language he was continuously underway, collecting and publishing Serbian popular songs. In his lifetime he was

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<sup>179</sup> See Appendix. In the case of the beseda of 1866, I could not find any information about the exact schedule of the evening, the source used seemed only to evoke the highlights of the evening. Because of these biases, unfortunately I cannot englobe this event into the analysis.

travelling through Western Europe and establishing connections and friendships with intellectuals. Among others Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Jacob Grimm were enthusiastic about his work and in particular about Serbian songs collected by him.<sup>180</sup> Members of the Serbian national movement and specially of the university youth were of course aware of his importance. As Zvekić was pointing out, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić was telling tales about the "Serbian greatness".<sup>181</sup> However Vuk was able to spread this idea not only among the Serbian communities. This positive Western reception of Vuk and his work, shows how much his person was able to represent the whole "Serbhood" (*Srbstvo*) in a multinational urban milieu like Pest.

The programme of the besedas put a major emphasis on one of the main elements of Vuk's oeuvre – collected and thus "canonised" folk songs and folk poetry. The schedule of the first event in November 1864 was of course more related to his personality, but his works were performed of course other times as well. It is important to mention performances of the works of the composer Kornelije Stanković, who was born in the Tabán district of Buda, was educated in Vienna and who dedicated a large part of his oeuvre to the re-interpretation of Serbian folk songs and church music.<sup>182</sup> Indeed Serbian folk culture plays an important role at the besedas, either in its original form or in re-interpretation. Usually, besedas started and finished with folk songs performed by the amateur choir of the Serbian youth. Many popular songs and poems were performed during the first part. In the second part, the schedule was dominated by Serbian dances and music played by folk musicians using popular instruments such as bagpipes.<sup>183</sup>

We can underline two reasons for the usage of folk songs and poems (or works in a "popular" style). First of all, thanks to the activities of Vuk, Stanković and others there was a general interest in Serbian folk poetry in the Hungarian, all-Slavic and German-speaking public as well from the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The second reason is closely linked to the construction and maintenance of Serbian national identity. Holm Sundhaussen in his book of Serbian history underlines the importance of the folk songs issued in thematic volumes by Vuk Karadžić. He focused on folk poetry regarding it as a form of collective memory, an oral tradition serving as a link between the "old" Serbian Czars and the Serbian movement of his time. Here, motives like the reign of Czar Dušan as a golden age or

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<sup>180</sup> Belić A. 1929.: Karadžić Vuk Stefanović In: Stanojević St.: *Narodna enciklopedija srpsko-hrvatsko-slovenačka II. knj.* Zagreb: Bibliografski zavod: 254-259.

<sup>181</sup> Zvekić 1867

<sup>182</sup> Monojlović, K. 1929: Kornelije Stanković. In: Stanojević St.: *Narodna enciklopedija srpsko-hrvatsko-slovenačka IV. knj.* Zagreb: Bibliografski zavod: 439-440.

<sup>183</sup> *A Hon.* 1867 január 20

the battle of Kosovo (as national decadence) serve as both myths and (using the notion of Pierre Nora) “*lieux de mémoire*” of the nationalist memory politics.<sup>184</sup> So the massive presence of folk elements at these besedas assured the continuity of the pre-modern “*narod*” and the modern national movement in the diaspora.

*Beseda* was perceived by Serbian intellectuals as an idea which goes beyond the actual events and represents an idea, a strategy of the Serbian national movement to maintain, spread and experience Serbian national identity. Beseda, according to its theorists, is the appropriate tool to achieve this in a multinational urban environment. This goal differentiated besedas from other representative events such as balls. In the programme of the besedas their “Serbian” nature was emphasised by the usage of folk culture, historical myths and the most important places of memory motives of the Serbian histo

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<sup>184</sup> Sundhaussen, Holm. 2007. *Geschichte Serbiens: 19.-21. Jahrhundert*. Wien: Böhlau Verlag: 97. [*History of Serbia: 19-21<sup>st</sup> Centuries*]



rical narrative.

### 3.2.4 Besedas as Events of Self-Representation

The former subchapter discussed besedas from the point of view of the creation and maintenance of national identity. I argued that besedas targeted the (imagined) community of Serbs living in Buda-Pest and beyond. This part of the thesis will now analyse besedas from another perspective and try to define them as events of self-representation. First of all, it is important to define which group wants to represent itself. The answer seems to be banal; the events were always announced as celebrations of the Buda-Pest University Youth. The introductory subchapter already delivered a brief analysis of this social group of the city, instances of overlapping between literary and political groupings and the growing importance of networking in the late 1860's have been referred to. So at this point we have to accept the self-definition of the organising committees and speak about University Youth as the group behind the besedas. The second question is related to the public of the besedas. Which groups were the (potential) participants of the events? I will argue that the organisers wanted to be *visible* for the society in the most important city of the Hungarian Kingdom, that is why they were informing the broader public about the events and made gestures in compiling the programme.

Having mentioned formerly, besedas were organised at a prestigious, popular location of the Pest bourgeoisie, which obviously did not belong to the Serbian urban milieu. The location was ideal regarding the general idea behind besedas; self-representation to the broader urban society at a location outside the own urban cultural milieu.<sup>185</sup> Therefore the organisers put specific emphasis on the fact of not necessarily being professional artists but still representing the community. Press coverage sometimes underlines this unprofessional (but at the same time way respectable) way of performing by the students choir, women from the local Serbian community or by a child. This way of performing was seen both by the organisers and the guests as “genuine”, where all community members participated.

Concerning the role and perception of women in the programme we can find reference in the poem “Posle besede” (After beseda), where Vladislav Nović describes his impressions and feelings about a beseda in Pest, by addressing a participant of the evening and calling her a “flower”, a “jewel”

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<sup>185</sup>We can recognise this idea already in case of early besedas in Novi Sad. In 1863 for instance a community from Sentomaš (Bácsszenttamás, today's Srbobran) a village in the Central Bačka region presented itself abroad, in the multinational city of Novi Sad. See: Сентомашка беседа у Новом Саду In: *Даница* 1863/6: 93-94. [Sentomaš beseda in Novi Sad]

with which the Serbian nation is "decorating" itself.<sup>186</sup>

<i>Србкињо лепа, Србкињо дична ,</i>	<i>Beautiful, honourable Serbian woman ,</i>
<i>Ћитњасти цвете народа мог ,</i>	<i>Ornate flower of my nation ,</i>
<i>Што му га тако украси дивно</i>	<i>Whom wonderfully decorates,</i>
<i>Преблаг и творац, свевишњи Бог !<sup>187</sup></i>	<i>The merciful creator, almighty God !</i>

In fact young women coming from the local Serbian community played an important role in the self-representation at the beseda. Both Serbian and Hungarian newspapers spotlight women's performances, and the great applause from the public.<sup>188</sup> Many songs and poems were performed by female participants, however (according to the researched materials) no woman participated in the work of the organisational committees.

I have already mentioned events comparable to the Buda-Pest besedas. At this point it is necessary to refer to the very Buda-Pest nature of the analysed besedas. What made those events particular? First of all, compared with other besedas, such as the event in Sentomaš one can find much more "Hungarian" and "Slavic" pieces in the programme (see the table in the previous subchapter). Among "Slavic" pieces it is important to underline the presence of Czech songs<sup>189</sup> and Czech culture, which can be related to the long-lasting and profound Czech influence on Serbian culture.<sup>190</sup> A considerable amount of pieces related to Hungarian contemporary art were also performed, such as movements from operas (ouverture of "János Hunyadi" by Ferenc Erkel) and songs (by Béni Egressy). In the schedules of the evening popular international pieces also played an important role. To sum up, there was an overproportioned share of Slavic, Hungarian and international pieces in the programme. This fact can be related to the characteristics of the multinational space in Buda and Pest, but can also be seen as gestures of respect towards Hungarian and diverse Slavic national movements.

Maybe the most interesting data to analyse from the point of view of self-representation are the networking activities of the organisers around the 1867 beseda. The organising committee sent invitations and notifications of the beseda at the beginning of the organising process. Several

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<sup>186</sup> Nović, Vladislav 1866: После беседе. In: *Даница* 1866/2 (20. јануара): 41-42. [After beseda]

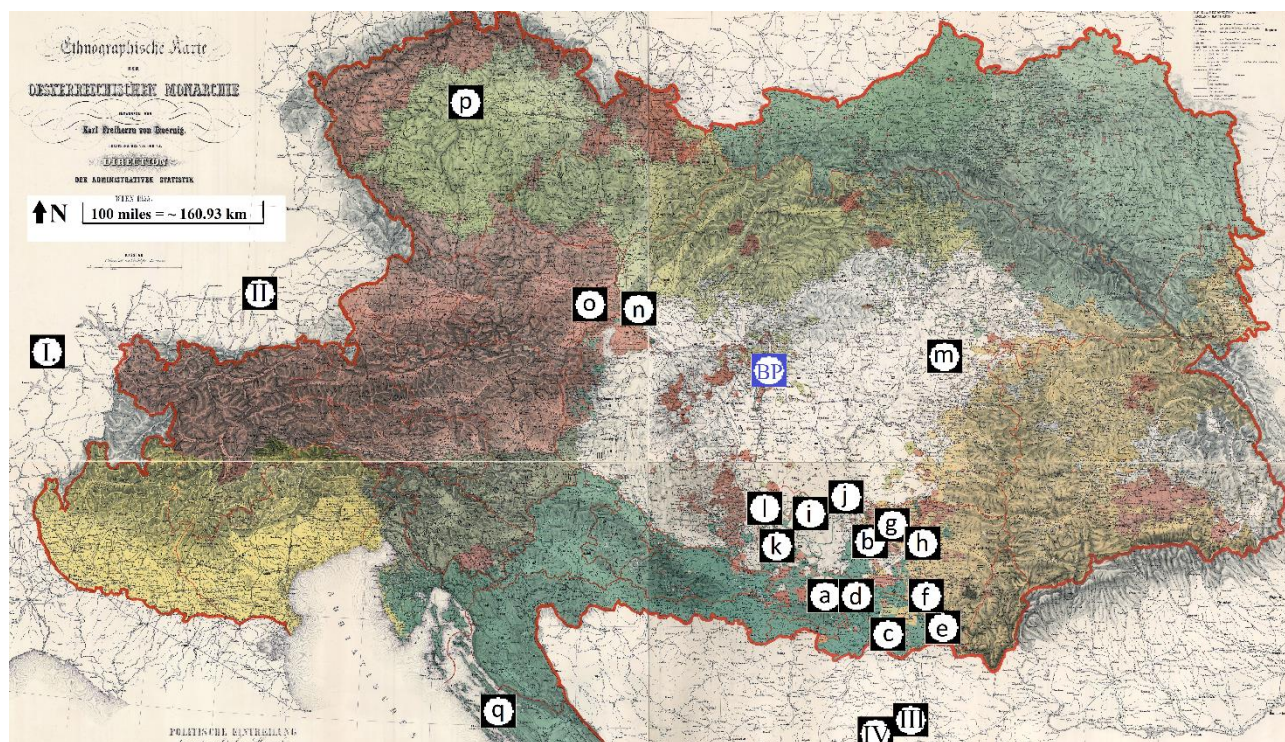
<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>188</sup> For instance: *Magyar Sajtó* 1864 november 29:1282

<sup>189</sup> For instance, the Hussite song: "Bivali čehovi" on the 1864 beseda. *Улазница на Србску беседу што је даје србска омладина која се у Пешти и Будиму учи.* 1864. у Пешти.

<sup>190</sup> On the migration of Czech musicians and related cultural transfers see: Tomašević, Katarina 2006: Contribution of Czech Musicians to the Serbian Music in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. In: *Muzikološki glasnik letnik* 42, številka 1: 127-137.

associations, loosely organised clubs or even private persons who could not attend the beseda sent a positive feedback, usually congratulating on the event. The organisers recited the contents of all the received telegrams at the event, which was accompanied by a "stormy applause".<sup>191</sup> These telegrams can be found in an issue of the newspaper *Zastava* and the sending locations are visualised on the following map.



**Figures 3.6: Telegrams congratulating the organising committee of the 1867 beseda.**

**a) Novi Sad** (Industrial Association; Committee of the Serbian Merchant's Ball; Company of the Serbian National Theatre; members of the Society for Industry), **b) Kikinda** (Singing Society; students; participants of the school celebration, "Vidak"), **c) Pančevo** (Serbian Society; Pančevo Youth) **d) Zuban Popović, Katarina Lazarević, Natalija Savić and the Youth in Sremski Karlovci** **e) "Mileta" Bela Crkva, f) Serbian Church Singing Society Vršac, g) Bogdan Kuzmanović, priest in Hatzfeld (Jimbolia), h) Zabava Association Temišvar (Timișoara), i) Serbian Reading Society Subotica, j) Sloga Society Segedin (Szeged), k) Youth in Sombor, l) Singing Society Baja, m) "Tičevci" Society, Debrecen, n) "two Serbs" in Požun (Bratislava), o) Zora Society, Beč (Vienna) p) Youth in Prag (Prague), q) students of the Gymnasium (high school) in Zadar**

*Outside the Habsburg Empire:* **I.** "Brothers from the free Switzerland" **Zurich, II.** Zavera society **Munich, III.** Šumadija society **Kragujevac, IV.** an inhabitant of **Gruža (Serbian P.)**

**Source:** *Zastava* 18. janyapa 1867. Based on the map: Czoernig, Karl Freiherr von 1855: *Ethnographische Karte der Oesterreichischen Monarchie*. Wikimedia Commons.

The list contains many well identifiable organisations, such as Zora, the founding society of United Serbian Youth. However, in many cases it is not easy to recognise and describe the

<sup>191</sup> *Zastava* 18. janyapa 1867.

organisational framework or personal background behind the telegrams. So one can find for instance several messages, the sender of which identify themselves as the “Youth” of the respective city, which is comparable to the case of “Buda-Pest Youth”. The message of such a self-identification seems to be clear; this type of communication places the represented community in the focus and veils personal identity (see for instance: “two Serbs from Požun”). On the other hand this communicative practice can refer to the *ad hoc* nature of the groups as well.

Concerning their contents, the telegrams mostly consisted of a few sentences congratulating the organisers. Sometimes a more “political” message was posted such as in the case of the Pančevo Youth:

*“Let’s sing brothers and practice harmony, get rid of false voices (...) be ready when we have to sing the song to defend the rights of the nation.”*<sup>192</sup>

of them using the same expressions. The primary goal of these telegrams in my opinion was to maintain the communication networks between Serbian communities in different regions of the Habsburg Empire and beyond. So it was important for the above enlisted societies, organisations and individuals to be visible in and around the *beseda*. The organisers in Pest wanted to inform the communities about their activities and thus become (stay) visible. In this sense the above illustration can be interpreted as a mental map of mutually and continuously maintained links between collective and individual actors of the Serbian national movement. The big amount and wide distribution of telegrams show the importance of the Buda-Pest Serbian urban milieu on this mental map.

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<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

### 3.2.5 Besedas as Events of Political Importance

The political importance of the besedas is based on the perspective of the political happenings in Buda and Pest around 1865-1867. The most remarkable event from this point of view was the Hungarian parliamentary assembly organised between 1865 and 1869. It was the event where the crucial decisions considering the future of the Hungarian Kingdom and thus the whole Habsburg Empire were taken. With the compromise between the elites of the Hungarian Kingdom and the Habsburg dynasty, and a separate compromise between Hungary and Croatia a year later the new dual state Austria-Hungary came into being. The above presented besedas were organised in a time period, when possible options for a prospective constitutional framework were discussed. Members of the elite came to Buda-Pest to discuss, to lobby and exercise influence on the future form of governance. Even the emperor Francis Joseph and his wife Elisabeth visited the twin cities several times. So, as the political stakes went higher, the urban space became politicised. The same happened to cultural and social events, so to the besedas as well.

After the first one in November 1864 further besedas were organised in January (linked to St. Sava's day) and February. In this period, the carnival time, usually several comparable events were organised in prestigious places of Buda-Pest (shooting range, the recently inaugurated place "Redoute"). Several political groups, national associations, professional groups were organising balls in this period. These events granted them a very visible self-representation in the city and the events were given more importance by the ongoing parliamentary assembly. At these celebrations representatives of diverse political currents were present. Thus these occasions offered the opportunity to have informal talks besides official political negotiations on the future of the Hungarian Kingdom.

For the Serbian political movement this era was essential as well. Svetozar Miletić, the representative of Stari Bečej (Óbecse) and leader of the National Party (Narodna stranka) established a newspaper under the name *Zastava* (*Banner*), which was the first Serbian press product of this type in Pest for almost twenty years. Together with Jovan Jovanović's newly established *Zmaj* (*Dragon*) they were commenting political events, criticising plans of Magyar hegemony, supporting a political option of Serbian autonomy, and minority rights in general.<sup>193</sup> It is visible that members of the Serbian

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<sup>193</sup> The cyrillic original – 3maj – could be understood as a political symbol as well by using it as a word-play related to the "May assembly" (Majska skupština) on the 3rd of May (in Serbian: 3. maja), which demanded the political

national movement were considering these political events to be of crucial importance. Therefore in these years again, Buda and Pest became an important place for Serbs, where they tried to exert influence on public and political decision makers. This subchapter provides an analysis of besedas from the political point of view.

Besedas were regarded as prestigious events of the Buda and Pest higher society, many “notabilities”, members of the political and social elite were attending them. That was the case especially during the diet, as members of the parliament from constituencies of the whole country were participating at the besedas as well. Unfortunately, it is not possible to give here an overview of all participants, one must rely on slightly subjective reports with a few names by different Serbian- or Hungarian-language press products. Therefore it is not possible to draw up a quantitative analysis, however we can point out some groups and personalities attending. Of course, Serbian, Hungarian and other Slavic intellectuals and Bildungsbürger were present. As another group of participants we can distinguish the already mentioned members of the diet connected to Serbian, Hungarian or Romanian political movements. In 1866 some of the most important political personalities of the Hungarian and Serbian political sphere were present, including the dethroned Serbian prince Aleksandar Karađorđević (living since 1858 in exile), Đorđe Stratimirović (commander of the Serbian insurgent forces in 1848), and several Romanians. Moreover, outstanding Hungarian politicians of the era, such as Frigyes Podmaniczky, Gyula Andrassy, Kálmán Tisza came to visit the above mentioned beseda of 1866. In some cases, the guest personally did not come but sent a donation for the respective good cause. So did the actual prince of Serbia, Mihailo Obrenović in 1866 on the occasion of a beseda, where the above mentioned Aleksandar Karađorđević was present as well.<sup>194</sup> So their political conflict can be seen in form of a “noble” competition as well to win the sympathies of the diaspora and the elite of the Hungarian Kingdom.

In the formerly mentioned highly politicised atmosphere (especially after 1865), increased tensions appeared around the programme of besedas as well. Although all press products and other documents of the research report in a generally positive way about the events at the same time some nuances related to tensions and different perceptions can be observed at the besedas, These problems are mostly articulated between members of the Hungarian, Serbian and Romanian national movements. I will present here two examples of critical comments to unveil the way political-cultural

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autonomy of Serbs within the Habsburg Empire.

<sup>194</sup>In: *Mamuya* 1866/2: 284.

Both the actual and the former prince offered 10 ducates.

conflicts appeared at the besedas. In the later years already comments on the besedas appeared stating that in the schedule not enough emphasis was placed on either the Serbian or the all-Slavic nature of the event.<sup>195</sup> Another critical remark is presented in a report of February 1867 in Mór Jókai's "A Hon".

*"Two speeches were held during the break. One was held by Miletić in Serbian, another by Hodosiu in Italian. There was a minor misunderstanding because of that. A guest shouted not knowing the speaker "Evviva l'Italia". Mr. Hodosiu said that he speaks in Italian, because that way he is understood better than in Romanian. However when he wants to be understood, he does not have to speak Italian. Not only more people but everyone would have understood him in Hungarian."*<sup>196</sup>

This quotation shows pretty well the implicit or explicit differences on and around the beseda. In the above mentioned source it is clearly visible how different a Hungarian and a minority (in this case, a Romanian<sup>197</sup>) viewpoint is considering a crucial element (collective linguistic rights) of the future state design. These cases reflect pretty well the growing political importance of the events. Besedas were not political manifestations in the narrow sense, however situations outside the official programme like these were pointing at some deep underlying ideological and political discrepancies between different currents represented at the celebration. In this sense we can regard besedas as events of political importance as well.

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<sup>195</sup> Застава 16. јануара 1867.

<sup>196</sup> A Hon 1867 február 3.

<sup>197</sup> Romanian intellectuals were present on the besedas as well. The common but not undisputed link between Romanians and Serbians in the Kingdom of Hungary was at this time their affiliation to the structure of the Serbian Orthodox Church. In that sense we can see many similarities in the organisation and activities of Serbian and Romanian urban cultural milieu of Buda and Pest. For instance, Romanian students organised some days after the Serbian beseda a similar event in 1866. See: *Pesti Napló* 1866. január 26



### 3.3 Conclusion

This chapter is based on a micro-scale research on the besedas and their political and social context from the point of view of Buda-Pest urban spaces. However, there are many interesting directions to continue or deepen this research. Because of the focus and length of the thesis it was not possible to include an investigation of the broader context of besedas into the research. Specifically the all-Slavic besedas in Vienna would be an interesting subject of research. The political importance of the events could be possibly analysed further along with some personal *mémoires* of the guests attending.

However on the other hand some aspects of these events related to the Serbian urban milieu in Buda and Pest could be revealed. As we could see, a beseda represents an important way of maintaining Serbian identity and self-representation in an era characterised by the Serbian University Youth including newly emerging writers of the Serbian romantics. Although the first besedas were not organised there, it is maybe possible to say that Buda and Pest played a key role in ideologising these events. Theoretical texts suggest that besedas fit in the Serbian cultural-historical narrative, they are organic part of the Serbian culture and at the same time “pure” enough to resist assimilation. The research however suggests a different picture: the schedule of the besedas contains always “Slavic”, “Hungarian” and “international” pieces, so it is not possible to speak about a “purely” Serbian event. In this sense the case study supports the point on crisscrossing urban milieus in a basically multi-ethnic urban environment.

The construction and maintenance of (national) identity was only one function of besedas, they served also as an important tool of visibility for the Buda-Pest Serbian youth and the whole Serbian community in the cities. By using existing (even institutionalised) communication links “put” the twin cities on the map of the Serbian national movement. The general political developments were giving an additional, political context to these events which context had an increasingly important impact on the perception of the besedas.



## Conclusion

The analysis delivered in this thesis could not give an insight into all Serbian activities in Buda and Pest between 1860 and 1867. The work concentrated on the events that were more visible from the perspective of the wider public in order to reveal some characteristics of them and relate the observations to my main questions on the nature and dynamics of the Serbian urban milieu in Buda and Pest. So the work could not concentrate on festivities of the Serbian Orthodox Church or smaller, less visible intra-community Serbian events. These aspects could be interesting subjects of a further research. Besedas represent another promising topic for later scholarly investigations; this work could show only one aspect of the wide spectre of complex meanings and usages varying in time and space.

### *Remarks on Common Characteristics of the Events*

The piece “Brankovics” and the besedas analysed differ of course in many aspects/ways, however it is possible to reveal/indicate/highlight some patterns of organisation, perception, symbolics and aftermath. The first point reflects to the location, these being important places of the higher society in Buda and Pest. Both locations can be seen as prestigious venues in the city; the shooting range and the Hungarian National Theatre. Here we arrive at Moritz Csáky’s key concept of. In light of the Serbian events we can speak of *Schnittstellen*, cut surfaces, urban places which can be seen in specific cases as stages of interaction between urban milieus. Analysing these interactions, a multitude of perceptions and meanings can be observed, which are sometimes supporting each other. Elsewhere/in other cases main ideas of the discourses appear to be the same but by analysing them considerable differences in the perception can be detected – as it is shown in the case of George Brankovich. Also, sometimes political conflicts appear to be even more visible around these events – as it happened at besedas in 1866 and 1867. Considering the applicability of the concept of “cut surfaces” it would be interesting to conduct further research on Budapest using Csáky’s theoretical framework.<sup>198</sup>

Another general characteristic feature of the events is related to the usage and constant re-usage of the past. The most important symbol to mention from this point of view is the figure of George Brankovich, who in the discourses represents the link between past and present concerning national efforts, interest and, in general, the fate of the Serbian *narod*. This discourse is closely related

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<sup>198</sup> At the time of the writing process of this thesis there is an ongoing fellowship of Lidia Nátori, who is translating the book into Hungarian. After the future publishing of the monography, its impact on historiography of Budapest will grow as well. Source: *Website of the Institute of Human Sciences, Vienna* [<http://www.iwm.at/the-institute/visiting-fellows/lidia-nadori/>] Downloaded on 2015.05.31.

to the relations to Hungarians, to their elite and “their” state, presented as natural allies, moreover “brothers”. As shown in the first case study, Buda and Pest, its Serbian and Hungarian institutions and social groups played a key role in the construction and the maintenance of the discourse. In the case of the besedas analysed one can easily demonstrate the Hungarian impulses and influences appearing around the very events and in the programme as well. It was not only these gestures that made the Buda-Pest events particular; we can observe more Slavic and international performances comparing to besedas. This constant interaction between Slavic, Romanian and Hungarian national movements underlines the importance of seeing Buda and Pest as a multinational environment.

It is important to mention that the events analysed contributed to the maintenance and self-representation of national identity not only in the positive manner. In order to tell and show who they are these events had to tell who they are not. The Other at these events was clearly defined as the Empire oppressing “small nations” both politically and culturally. In the drama “George Brankovich” the oppressor was the Ottoman Empire, depicted as pagan, immoral, dishonest and dishonourable. In the act the despot tried to relativize the evilness of the Empire by trying to pursue *Realpolitik* and cooperate with the Ottomans. This mistake however led to a series of personal and national tragedies. In the case of the besedas (according to their theorists, Zvekić and Zmaj) the most threatening risk to the Serbian nation is the possibility of losing the cultural identity in a foreign, urban environment such as Buda and Pest. Besedas appear in the discourse as the continuation of the nation’s culture and resist foreign influences. The Other in this context is the German-language and German-influenced urban culture with all its immorality and rootlessness. These two formulations of “otherness” can be - and in fact were – easily politicised explicitly or implicitly as Serbian, Serbian-Hungarian or Slavic symbols (or sometimes all at the same time) directed against the Habsburg politics.

These characteristics lead us to one of the main points of the analysis of the events. Although the organisers were emphasising the (pure) “Serbianness” of the besedas, at the same time they made many gestures towards other groups of Buda and Pest. The case of “George Brankovich” shows, how a Hungarian drama gained Serbian importance through its perception. To sum up, in the case of these major events the conceptual borders between “Serbian” and “non-Serbian” events get blurred. In this sense I have to underline again the necessity for an extended usage of “Serbian” events. They gained their importance (and their “Serbian” meaning) through complex interactions between the authors, performers and their audience – either in a direct form or through the usage of media outlets. The range of these interactions includes both the urban scale and the level of the diaspora

In this conclusion I have to return to the research questions formulated at the beginning of the writing process. These questions are related to the dynamics of the Serbian urban milieu. The most important – and many times evoked – change in this era is the re-establishing of Matica srpska in the year 1864. The leave of the most prestigious Serbian cultural institution effected the Serbian milieu in Buda and Pest profoundly; with time fewer and fewer books and periodicals were published and important disputes (such as the one on the language) were not carried out in Buda and Pest anymore. The territorial focus of the national movement shifted almost 300 km to the South. Novi Sad emerged as a new centre of the Serbian culture. The contemporary name “*Serbian Athens*” [*Srpska Atina*] reflects the importance of this city in the Southern Bačka region; an urban space, where Matica was re-established, new press products issued and a place, which was chosen for the first all-Serbian youth assembly, the “United Serbian Youth”. With this general dynamics many times described we should now see how the above presented cases nuance the picture.

The general political-social background of the era can be described as the rapid development of the public sphere, the general expansion in the number of press products in the Kingdom of Hungary and the re-appearance of legal political debate. These trends affected Buda and Pest especially this being the traditional centre of the Hungarian national movement and the place of political debates and where the diet of the Kingdom of Hungary was held. The ongoing political deliberation gradually politicised the urban space. These circumstances are equally important to see why particular groups (such as the national movement) used the urban public sphere again, demonstrated their identity and later their political claims again. Another important point to stress is that Buda and Pest still had important educational functions (university, grammar schools), which Novi Sad could not take over. In this sense, here again I have to refer to/mention the role of the university youth, its institutions (Tekelijanum, Preodnica), which can in fact be seen as a new generation of the Serbian national movement – developing new theories, forms of expression (beseda), artistic styles (romanticism) and new or newly explored symbols (Brankovich). besides Bildungsbürgertum members of the Buda-Pest university youth were the most important actors of the events analysed.

Hereby I would like to point out two general dynamics of self-representation and maintenance of identity in light of the analysed events *within* the time period concerned (1860-1867). These trends are related to each other and can be interpreted at both levels of analysis: at the level of urban milieus

and that of diaspora-networks as well. The first change is related to the *growing visibility* of Serbian events. While in the case of “George Brankovich” members of the Serbian national movement were using the method/tool of rethinking and reshaping a Hungarian cultural manifestation. In this case press reports from and beyond Buda and Pest were often not aware of the existing perspective and constantly developing Serbian discourse on “Brankovich”. The besedas however gave the chance to the organisers to “appear” both in the city and in the networks of diaspora regularly<sup>199</sup> and underline Serbian identity.<sup>200</sup> The second dynamics to underscore is related to the gradual *politicisation* of the events, and the perception around them. Since the diet in 1865 started to discuss the future political-institutional framework of the state, its location in Buda-Pest became an important stage for all political groupings, which wanted to influence public opinion. At this point I should reflect again to the theory of Hroch on stages of national movements.

In light of the previous analysis it is possible to say that the phases A (constructing national culture – see *Matica srpska*, *Letopis* etc.) and partly phase C (March 17th) was happening in Buda and Pest, however soon after the first days of the revolution the focus of the national movement shifted towards the South. It is interesting that after ten years of neo-absolutism, a new generation of *Bildungsbürger* and students started activities of nation-building again (finding or rediscovering myths and symbols) and became soon involved into politics in Buda and Pest. After the Austro-Hungarian compromise, which was seen as another disillusionment by the liberal Serbian nationalists, and for Serbian liberals the national movement was again replaced to Novi Sad. However, in the Serbian cultural memory, some symbols related to Budapest were kept, such as the figure of some influential *Bildungsbürger* like Sava Tekelija or the figure of George Brankovich.

### *Possible Continuation(s) of the Research*

Like it usually happens, one recognises during the writing procedure of a thesis how it reveals many further possible threads to follow in the future. The most promising continuation would deal with the idea of the beseda as a cultural exchange between Slavic nations; delivering a conceptual history of this form of entertainment in different cities, towns, countries and in various time periods, including Serbian besedas after 1867. Regarding the drama of George Brankovich, it would be useful to conduct

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<sup>199</sup> Another single events were organised in Buda and Pest such as the hundred years jubilee of Sava Tekelija. See: Kovaček 1997: 81-90.

<sup>200</sup> As showed in the case study, despite of Slavic, Hungarian influences, besedas were *always* presented as Serbian events in the public.

a further research into its later usage and the processes of remembering or forgetting it.

Relying rather on the tradition of German *Kulturwissenschaft* this thesis could not (or could very briefly) include the question of ethnic neighbourhoods. However, pursuing this direction might prove fruitful as well by delivering an approach through gaining more data on the public and thus concretize the points on the perception. This work used Miroslav Hroch's category of the "national movement" by placing it in an urban environment. Besides its definition the focus was set on the interactions with Hungarians. It would be surely interesting however to include other national groups (Slovaks, Romanians, Germans) in more detail and thus create a more complex framework to analyse these interesting events.

**Appendix n° 1:** Overview four Serbian besedas in Pest between 1864 and 1867. Please note that the name of the titles, actors and guests are based on informations found in Hungarian, Serbian and Slovak language sources. It was not always possible to identify all the works and names appearing in this table

Date of beseda	November 14/26 1864	February 10/22 1865	January 13/25 1866	January 13/26 1867
<b>Noble cause</b>	Monument of Vuk Karadžić <sup>1</sup>	2/3 part of the income: Serbian National Theatre of Novi Sad 1/3 part: Association of Law and Medical Students of Pest <sup>2</sup>	Serbian National Theatre of Novi Sad <sup>1</sup>	"good cause"
<b>Programme of the performance</b> <i>Title – performer [genre]</i>	1. „Sabljko moja dimišćijo...” [choir] 2. Jakšića: Bratoubica - St. Malešević [poem] 3. Ferenc Erkel: Hunyadi János Ouverture - Pava Dukina and Tasa Stankovićeva [piano] 4. Italian and Serbian song Milica Martinozićeva 5. "Bivali čehove..." [choir] 6. Wilmers: Phantasie; K. Stanković: Serbian songs with variations - Micika Dukina [piano] 7. P. Preradović: Car Dušan - Mileva Dukina. [poem] 8. Svato vac in variations - Đ. Stanković [piano] 9. On Serbian folk songs [lecture] 10. Evo desnice [choir] <sup>1</sup>	1. Već iz gustog luga [choir] 2. Serbian songs accompanied by violin 3. Laza Kostić: Beseda [performed by the writer] 4. Voss: „Mon étoile”, Chopin: Walzer, Kornelije Stanković: Rado ide Srbin u vojнике” - Marija Duka 5. Slavic song [choir] 6. József Eötvös: "Vár és kunyhó" - Adél Vasziluijevits Bognár Vaszilijevits 7. Kornelije Stanković, „Car vezira” - Mihály Haris 8. Béni Egressy: Csalogánydal, Búcsúzó Borzótól – Pál Haris accompanied by violin 9. Georgije Geršić: The theatre [lecture] 10. Final choir <sup>1</sup>	→ "Lucia" [song performed by Tina Koišorova] → "Smrt majke Jugovića" [folk poem, performed by 6 years old Milica Miletić] → Pridan: Plamen-varalica, Liszt: Hungarian rhapsody Kornelije Stanković: Folk songs with variations [Micika Dukina, piano] → E. Stojanović: Kad sve bude u pokoju → Đura Jakšić: Mučenica [spoken by Stevan Malešević] → Brinkčijaldi: Phantasia [A. Nikolić on flute] → Što čutiš Srbine viteški <sup>1</sup>	1. A. Nikolić - Uskliknimo [choir] 2. F. Mendelssohn: Hebrides ouverture [Mari Velkov and J. Pacsu] 3. Stevan B. Popović: "On Possible Progress of Serbian Nation" [lecture] 4. V.J. Veit: Na prachu [choir] 5. "Serbian folk songs" with variations and a wedding song [Ilka Papić, piano] 6. L. Zimay: Kék Ibolya, M. Lendvai: Szivhangok [Ilva Helvey - singer, Péter Stoll - piano] 7. J. Jovanović: Ranyenicsy [Ilka Huzsvég] 8. Richar: Szavicsa – dalkör 9. Wagner: Tannhäuser, Liszt – [J. Pacsu - piano] 10. Briccieli: Phantasia – Nikolits Sándor (fuvola), Stojanovits Jenő (zongora). 11. Ja sam slaven [choir] <sup>1</sup>
<b>Dances and songs of the second part (if available)</b>	1. Kolo, 2. Četvorka, 3. Csárdás, 4. Četvorka, 5. Mazurka and tramblan, 6. Paraćinka and Smederevka, 7. Četvorka, 8. Mazurka and tramblan, 9. Četvorka, 10. Csárdás, 11. Kolo <sup>1</sup>		Kolo and Csárdás <sup>2</sup>	

<b>Participating notabilities (if available)</b>	József Székács, Mór Jókai, Károly Ács, József Ferenc, Jovan Jovanović <sup>2</sup>		<u>Serbs</u> : Aleksandar Karađorđević with wife Persida, Stevan Branovački, Đorđe Stratimirović, Fedor Nikolić, Aleksandar Nikolić Rudnjanski, Svetožar Milutinović, Jovan Damaskin <u>Romanians</u> : Antonije Đura, Šandor Močonjia, Žigmund Popović i Joanesku <u>Slovak</u> : Ján Francisci <u>Hungarians</u> : Károly Ács, Besze János, András Gyula, Kálmán Tisza, Bezerédi László, Srećko Corda, Gyula Odeskali, Béla Széchenyi, Frigyes Podmaniczky, Lajos Tisza, György Komáromy, Darije Smrčani, Luka Vojnić, János Rónay, János Kuba, László Kovács, Imre Zsarnay, László Böszörményi, Pavo Kubica. Josif Ferenc - prof. dr. Todor Mandić	Svetožar Miletić, Iosif Hodošiu <sup>1</sup>
<b>Sources</b>	Улазница на Србску беседу што је даје србска омладина која се у Пешти и Будиму учи <sup>2</sup> <i>Fővárosi Lapok</i> 1864 november 29: 1741	<sup>1</sup> <i>A Hon</i> , 1865. február 19. <sup>2</sup> <i>A Hon</i> , 1865 január 27. <i>Magyar Sajtó</i> 1865 január 30.: 103	<sup>1</sup> <i>Mamuița</i> 1866/2: 284. <sup>2</sup> <i>Magyar Világ</i> 1866 január 27. <i>Pešťbudínske vedomosti</i> . Utorok, 30. januára 1866. Príloha Pešť', <i>Fővárosi Lapok</i> 1866. január 27.: 83 <i>Magyar Világ</i> 1866 január 27.	<sup>1</sup> <i>A Hon</i> 1867 január 20 <i>Застава</i> 16. јануара 1867. <i>A Hon</i> 1867 február 3.

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